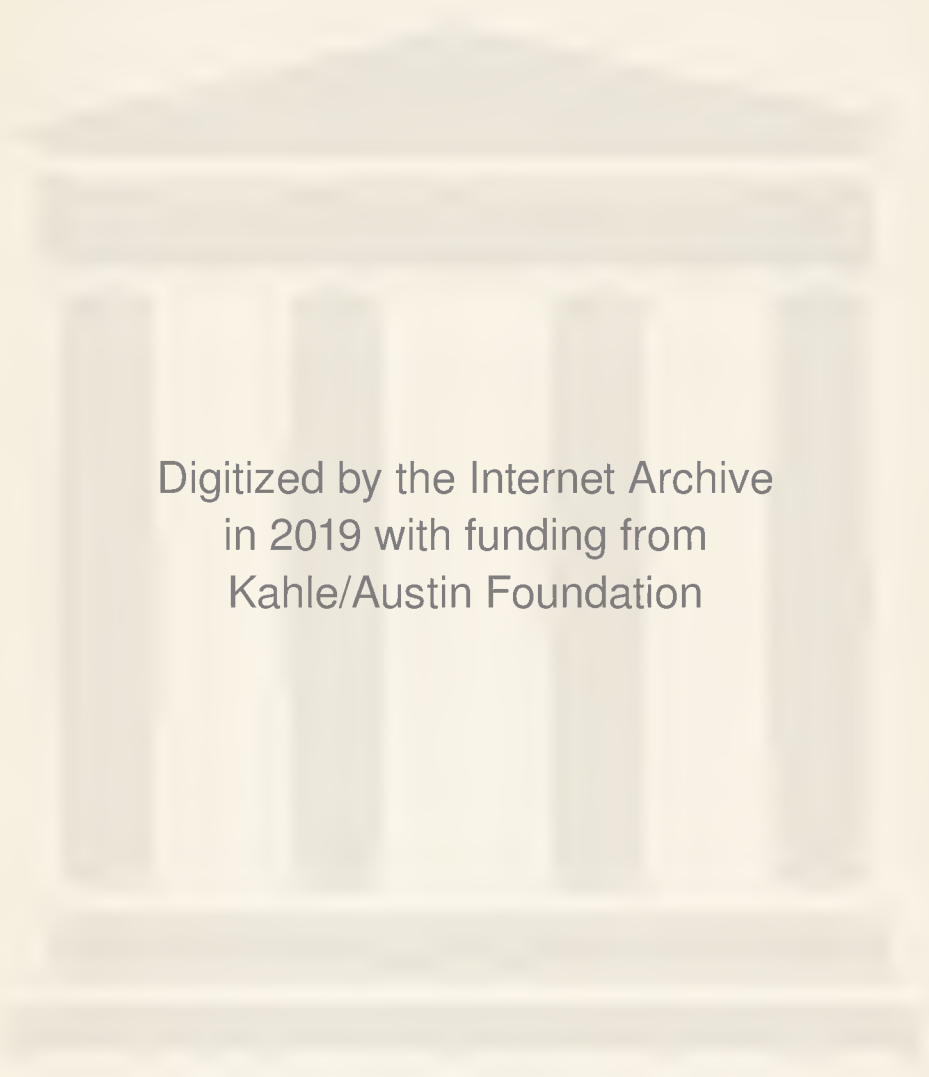




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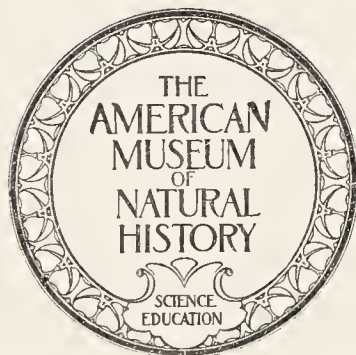
VOLUME XXXI, PART V

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NOTES ON THE INDIANS OF THE  
FORT APACHE REGION

BY ALBERT B. REAGAN

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BY ORDER OF THE TRUSTEES  
OF  
THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY  
NEW YORK CITY  
1930

GNZ.A27 v.31 pt.5



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BY ALBERT B. REAGAN



## FOREWORD

The field notes upon which this publication is based were recorded by Mr. Albert B. Reagan while engaged as an administrative officer in the United States Indian Service and stationed at Fort Apache in 1901-1902. The late Curator Pliny E. Goddard became acquainted with Mr. Reagan while engaged in field-work among these same people and intended to edit these notes to appear in series with his own data. It seemed proper, therefore, to edit the manuscript material of Mr. Reagan for separate issue. The value of these notes lies in their exactness in detail, the result of direct observation, and in that they present a cross-section of Apache life at the time.

Mr. Reagan has contributed a number of descriptive papers on the Apache and other tribes, is well known to anthropologists, and is the author of a book, *Don Diego*, which contains much valuable information on the Pueblo and Apache tribes.

THE EDITOR



## CONTENTS

	PAGE
FOREWORD . . . . .	283
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	287
ORIGIN MYTH . . . . .	288
DRESS . . . . .	288
HAIR DRESS . . . . .	289
TATTOOING AND PAINTING . . . . .	290
HABITATIONS, FURNITURE, AND UTENSILS . . . . .	290
DIVISION OF LABOR . . . . .	291
FOOD AND ITS PREPARATION . . . . .	291
CARRYING WATER AND WOOD GATHERING . . . . .	296
SKIN DRESSING . . . . .	296
HAY MAKING . . . . .	296
BASKETRY . . . . .	297
TISWIN OR TULAPAI . . . . .	298
AGRICULTURE . . . . .	299
SIGN LANGUAGE AND SIGNALING . . . . .	300
THE MOTHER-IN-LAW . . . . .	301
PUNISHMENT OF ADULTERY . . . . .	301
TREATMENT OF THIEVES . . . . .	301
ALTARS . . . . .	301
MEDICINE ACCOUTERMENTS . . . . .	302
REVERENCE FOR THE CRAZY AND FEEBLE-MINDED . . . . .	306
REVERENCE FOR SNAKES . . . . .	306
SWEATBATHING . . . . .	306
BIRTH CEREMONIES . . . . .	307
ADOLESCENCE CEREMONIES . . . . .	309
MENSTRUAL CUSTOMS . . . . .	311
COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE . . . . .	311
SCHOOLS . . . . .	313
DISEASE . . . . .	314
SOCIAL DANCES . . . . .	315
DEATH CEREMONIES . . . . .	315
CEREMONIES FOR THE SICK . . . . .	319
CEREMONIAL DANCES . . . . .	327
The Wheel Dance . . . . .	328
The Devil's Dance . . . . .	329
Thank Offering Dance . . . . .	330
Protection from Ghosts . . . . .	332
Dance for a Sick Child . . . . .	333
Dance for a Sick Woman . . . . .	334
A Night Dance . . . . .	336
Dance for Rain . . . . .	338
Medicine Disk Ceremony . . . . .	338
Ceremonies for the Sick . . . . .	340
The Sickness and Death of Whistling Wind . . . . .	344



## INTRODUCTION

The Fort Apache region is the present home of the White Mountain Apache and San Carlos Indians, a branch of the Athapascan family. They call themselves *Dine'* or *Inde'*, meaning "the people." At the present time the White Mountain Apache are under the jurisdiction of the Fort Apache Agency and the San Carlos Apache under the San Carlos Agency.

The White Mountain Apache live on the White Mountain Apache Reservation which is located in the southern part of Navajo, southwestern corner of Apache, and northeastern part of Gila counties, Arizona, eighty-six miles from Holbrook, and sixty-five miles from Rice, the nearest railroad point. The total area of the Reservation is 1,742,220 acres. Its eastern and northern sections are covered with a dense growth of pine, cedar, and other valuable timber. Valuable coal lands, where considerable mining has been carried on, also cover the northern part of the Reservation. Also, considerable deposits of copper, asbestos, and gold are found in different localities on the Reservation, especially in the Cambrian and older pre-Cambrian rocks.

In 1914 the population was 2,495, living in bands designated from A. to Z. These were scattered over the Reservation, each band occupying a certain valley or other location.

The San Carlos Apache are composed of the San Carlos proper and several other Apache bands including the Coyotero, Tonto, and Mohave Apache (Yavapai), and live on the San Carlos Reservation between the Gila and Salt rivers, south of the White Mountain Apache Reservation. The Reservation contains 1,834,240 acres, of which 111,000 acres are covered with dense pine forests. About 1,500 acres in the San Carlos and Gila river valleys are under cultivation and about 7,000 more acres could be cultivated if there were sufficient water for irrigation.

The Agency rolls at San Carlos show 2,610 names of Indians belonging to the four bands of which the tribe is now principally composed. They are splendid workers and their labor is in constant demand, but unfortunately the *tulapai* drink habit greatly retards their progress.

## ORIGIN MYTH

The supposition is that the Apache came from the northland. Their myths also seem to bear out this conclusion. One of the old medicine-men related one to the writer during a medicine singing as follows:—

“We came from the cold, cold north to this land,” said he. “When we came here we found people living in cliffs, in caves, and in mud and stone houses and villages. They waged war on our fathers who fought them. After a long time our fathers who were fighters, overcame the cliff-dwellers and dwellers in houses and either killed them all or drove them toward the boiling ocean (south) and if the *Indah* (white man) had not come we would have gone on south in getting our possessions. What became of those peoples who fled before our fathers we do not know. After we had been masters of the land many, many years, the *Indah* came and their skill in war and their numbers at last broke our power. We do not know from where the white man came, but this we now know, he is stronger than we, though he will not always be, because the *chedens* (ghosts) who dance around yonder mountain (Chromo Butte) to whom we always pray, and the gods of the abode of the dead who live in the sacred regions at the four corners of the earth are greater than the pale faces and will some not far distant day, come and help us. Then the white man must leave our land to us. At that time it does not matter if we are killed in battle; in three days we will be alive again and will fight more fiercely than before. My brother (referring to the writer) the pale faces must go and we will live in all the glory of our fathers. It may not come in your day, but as sure as you see that mountain (Chromo Butte) it will come.”

The old man here arose from his sitting position, shut his mouth like a vice and shook his clenched fists in the writer's face, saying: “May it soon come.” The writer felt shaky for a minute putting his hand on the revolver he always carried in his hip pocket. The old doctor evidently showed his ire in his face and the writer did not know but that he might wreak his vengeance upon him, the only white man for many miles, as he had tried to do the whites in the raids of the seventies and eighties of the last century (he being a Cibicu). But the writer was happily surprised, for the aged man patted him gently on the shoulder and said “*Ne unjone Indah unjo*” (You good, you are a good white man). He then turned and resumed his medicine singing.

## DRESS

The dress of the Apache woman today is patterned after the old-time buckskin dress, though the skirt is fuller, containing eight or more widths of vividly colored calico, finished off around the bottom with a wide ruffle of a differently colored cloth. The ruffle often being ten inches deep, is frequently decorated with three or more gayly contrasting, colored bands, though occasionally these bands are simply white. They wear a loose blouse, or sometimes simply a poncho-like square of cloth with a hole in its center so that it may be passed over the head. The latter is worn by those in mourning. The blouse has no belt at the bottom to keep it in place and hangs loosely over the skirt. Some of the



old women wear only the skirt, unless white people are around. When away from home they also wear an oblong piece of cloth over their shoulders, like a shawl, so tied by two end corners and put over the head as to allow most of the cloth to fall over the shoulders. Sometimes these are simply flour sacks sewed together; sometimes they are of costly cloth. At times they fasten this cloth in a loop over the forehead and make a carrying bag out of it by holding the other two ends in the hands. In this improvised burden bag they carry all sorts of loads. Besides these, most of the women, especially the young ones, wear many strands of small and large beads around their necks, from which small looking-glasses, shell beads, fetishes, bearclaws, and other tokens are suspended. The arms and wrists are also decorated with wristlets and wrist bands. Most of them also wear boot-like moccasins, made of buckskin and cow-hide with turned-up, beaded toe-pieces.

Clothing is made by hand the easiest way possible. Belts and other beadwork are usually well and artistically made by the women. Moccasins are made by both men and women.

The old men often dress as in the old days, simply in a breechcloth. The younger generation wears white man's clothing, except that many of them, especially the chiefs, allow their shirts to hang outside of their trousers. When at work on the Reservation in hot weather most of the men remove their shirts. When shoes are not worn or they are not bare-footed, moccasins of a pattern somewhat different from those of the women, are worn. These are soled with bullhide and have the turned-up, rounded toe-piece.

#### HAIR DRESS

The aloe soap weed grows in the region. The roots are collected and taken home and, when needed, are pounded into pulp and worked into a lather with water. Baths are then taken in it. It is used especially to shampoo the hair. After which it is combed with a wisp of stiff grass tied in a bundle by a cord and the stiff ends used as the comb. The hair is then hung over the uplifted arm to dry in the sun; then it is combed and arranged according to Apache custom. For a single woman the hair is dressed in a double, hourglass-shaped roll or fold and a virginity lapel placed over it; for a married woman, it is often allowed to hang loosely over the shoulders.

After folding the hair in a perpendicular double loop at the back of the head, the girl ties over it a similarly shaped piece of leather that is beaded or set with brass buttons or other bright ornamentation. This

hair band is worn to show that the wearer is a virgin. When she marries, she destroys this ornament. Should she then attempt to wear it, her husband would roughly take it off her head and probably beat her besides; because wearing it would be an indication that she would welcome other suitors.

A man usually ties his hair in two doubled-over rolls at the back or lets it hang loose. The women dress the hair of the men as well as their own. A part of the wedding ceremony is to have the bride arrange the groom's hair.

#### TATTOOING AND PAINTING

The younger Apache women paint their faces more or less with reddish paint most of the time, but they do not daub it on as is customary among many tribes. On special occasions the men paint themselves according to the part they are to play in the ceremony.

For the adolescence ceremony the girls paint their cheeks with a yellow or reddish yellow circle to show that they are ready for matrimony. Sometimes other colors are used; also decorative figures such as cross-bars, dots, double crosses, circles, double circles, swastikas, are employed. The pigments are usually mineral paints which they have compounded themselves, though commercial coloring materials and inks are used now and then.

#### HABITATIONS, FURNITURE AND UTENSILS

The Apache, for the most part, live in circular dome-shaped houses though sometimes these have a conical top. The Apache house is made entirely by the women. The poles are cut and collected and the covering wholly obtained by them. They are made of a framework of poles and limbs tied together, over which a thatch of brush, yucca leaves, rushes or flags is placed. Over this a canvass is stretched. The structure is open at the top to allow the escape of smoke. The doorway is a low opening on one side, over which a blanket or a piece of skin is stretched. The fire is built in the center of the house. This style of house is quite comfortable.

In summer, the family often lives outdoors within a circular, brush windbreak. They also sometimes set posts in the ground in the form of an oblong on which they tie horizontal poles. On these they interweave twigs and brush in a thatch-lattice work. They then cover the enclosure with a brush roof. Such a house, called a wickiup, makes comfortable quarters in summer. Sometimes the posts are set in the ground and only a brush roof is made, forming an open arbor.

The furniture, if any, is very meager. In the wickiup summer lodge wooden bed frames are sometimes made with a pole base, some two or three feet above the ground and on this, brush and dry grass are placed, over which blankets are spread. Sometimes the young men will also have a "fiddle" made out of a mescal stalk, on which they play "tunes" for their sweethearts. This about completes the furniture.

For culinary utensils the woman has a pot, a skillet or frying pan or two, and possibly a dishpan. She also has a five gallon coal oil can that she has secured at the post. In this she boils meats and soups and makes *tulapai*. She also has a *tus* (water jug), a few knives, a pounding stone or two, and a pair of grinding slabs (metate and mano), which were probably picked up near some old ruin. She may also have some medicine objects hung up in the house.

#### DIVISION OF LABOR

The Apache men work as do white people when paid for their work, but when living on the Reservation, they are herders and hunters, and help a little with the farm work, just as little as possible—farm work being considered the work of the women. In the old times they fought, hunted, made their war implements and medicine objects, and gambled.

To the Apache woman falls the greater part of the work. In a very true sense, she is "bought and paid for" by her husband and he treats her accordingly. She does his every bidding. Furthermore, at mealtime she must wait until he and his guests have eaten and then eat what is left or do without, if he and his guests have eaten all the food. She even goes to the hills and brings in his horse, saddles and bridles it, and leads it to him, as he lolls outside the house. Her position is the most wretched of any women yet seen by the writer. Only in drinking *tiswin* will the husband share equally and at the same time with his wife. He will even offer her a drink first.

#### FOOD AND ITS PREPARATION

The Apache woman, as has been stated, has a *tus*, a pot, skillet or frying pan, a five gallon coal oil can, and some grinding slabs. With these she prepares and cooks the food for the family. In the *tus* she carries on her head or swung at her back the water from the river a mile or more away. It is a common saying in the region that the medicine-man causes the camps to be pitched as far from water as possible just to make the women work.



She grinds corn much as the Pueblo women do, but has but one metate and one *mazo* and no grinding box. To make fine meal she re-grinds it. Flour is now purchased, not ground by the Apache.

Corn pone is baked in or under the ashes, or in lard in a skillet. They make a sort of cornmeal pancake in which no salt is used, only meal and water. When thoroughly stirred it is baked in a skillet held right side up. Mush is also made much as white women make it, except that it is stirred with two sticks. Wheat flour is made into biscuit bread and fried in the skillet. Dumplings (without baking powder or soda) are also made. Soups and gravies are also used a great deal. A wheat flour dough bread is baked in or under the ashes. Sometimes it is wrapped in green cornhusks and baked in the ashes as is corn pone occasionally. Baking powder and soda bread in flat rolls are now baked in Dutch ovens. The principal bread used, however, is the *tortilla*. For these, a stiff dough is made with flour and baking powder, if available; if not, simply with flour, water, and salt. A lump about the size of a biscuit is then pulled off of the dough, rolled to biscuit shape, then pressed and flapped between the hands till it is the size and shape of pancake. It is then baked dry on the bottom of an inverted frying pan which is placed over the fire. Enough of these are baked for a meal for the entire family; often this bread with coffee constitutes the entire meal of all the family.

Meat is fried, broiled, jerked, or boiled. When boiled, soups and dumplings are often made with it. Beef intestines are washed both inside and out and then broiled over the fire (formerly these were eaten raw, without any ceremony about the cleaning). Stomachs of edible animals are ripped open and washed. They are then cut into sections and broiled over the fire when needed. When cooked this way they make good eating.

The Apache is not as careful in preparing his food as the Pueblo. On August 22, 1901, V-59 made a meal on honey and boiled corn smut. Also, green corn when not yet in the "milk" is boiled and eaten, cob and all. Walnuts, kernels, hulls, and all are mashed fine, then the women pour water over the mixture and boil it. They then filter the product; the filtered liquid is white and tastes much like milk. It is a very nutritious food. Green corn is cut from the cob and mashed on the metates, then boiled.

Green corn on the cob is either boiled or roasted before the fire. Also at corn husking time, the green corn is gathered and thrown into a separate pile. When the field is all gathered and husked, a pit is dug and

a large quantity of wood thrown into it. On this, stones are piled. The wood is then ignited. When it has burned down to the live coal stage, wet grass, twigs or cornhusks are piled in and then the green corn with the shucks on is hurriedly thrown on. The corn is covered with more wet grass or corn fodder and about six inches of dirt is heaped over the pile. Just before closing in the top a quantity of water is poured in, to make steam. The cooking process is then allowed to take its course for twenty-four hours, when the dirt is removed and the corn taken out. The husks are then stripped and tied together and the corn hung out to dry on the cob. When dried it is shelled and stored in large storage baskets or jugs for use when needed. The abandoned pit is left as a sort of mound for the speculation of future generations.

The bean pod of a species of locust tree that grows in the region, a tree that resembles the eastern honey locust tree very much, is gathered when not quite matured and dried. The pods and beans are then crushed on the metates to a fine sweet powder called "sugar" by the Apache. This pounded-up pulp is mixed with water and cooked or is eaten raw.

In gathering and preparing mescal tubers (mescal or maguey plant is a cousin of the century plant and has a very large beet-like root), the women go in a company to the hills where it grows, the best place being in the break-country east of Canyon and Oak creeks. Here they camp and proceed to the hills to collect the tubers. Usually six or eight women are in the group. It takes them about two days to collect a ton of tubers and carry them to the camp (the beet-like root being gathered just before the stem is run up by nature to go to seed). When enough are gathered, a large pit is dug and filled with dry wood, on which a large quantity of stones is piled. The wood is then ignited and when it burns down to live coals and the stones to a white heat, wet twigs, rushes or flags are quickly placed on them to a thickness of about a foot. The mescal roots are then hurled on the smoking mass, wet grass and twigs placed over them, and then all the whole is snugly covered with a foot or more of earth. A fire is then kindled over this pile and kept burning. The cooking continues for about twenty-four hours. The pit is then opened and the tubers taken out and packed on burros or carried by the women to their homes where they are stored for future use. They taste like squash, except that they have a slightly burned tinge. They are good food.

The Apache also prepare an intoxicating beverage, called *tiswin*, from the "heart" or center of the unopened cluster of leaves of this plant. This heart is cooked, as described above, for about fifteen days. When thoroughly cooked the roots are of a semi-gelatinous consistency; they

are then crushed on the metates or in vessels made for the purpose and the liquor poured off into retaining receptacles where it is kept until fermentation sets in, when they call together all their friends and relatives, sometimes the whole tribe, and have a dance, which often results in a drunken and obscene carousal.

The Indian woman picks berries in the woods, brings them home, and usually sets them before her guests without cooking them. There are not many berries in the region.

A great variety of cactus fruit is found in the region, ranging from sour to sweet. The Indian women know when each kind ripens and they make long journeys to secure it. The fruit is spiny, but fine eating when the spines are removed by rolling the fruit in the sand or by rubbing it with a piece of buckskin. All varieties of the fruit are eaten as we would eat an apple, except the sweet kind which is made into a sort of butter.

Every fall the women go, in large numbers, to gather the pine (piñon) nut. Sometimes a whole band, men and all, makes up a nutting party. Once the writer saw all the Apache of the Reservation from Carrizo Creek westward scouring the Catholic Buttes and Cherry Creek region west of the Reservation for nuts. The nuts are gathered in the cone which is either burned off near where they are gathered or after the return home. The cone is burned or dried till the nuts fall out. These are then collected and placed in storage jars for future use. When needed, the quantity required is placed in an open tray containing live coals. Then the tray is shaken and lightly tossed to aid the parching process and to keep it from burning. When sufficiently roasted the nuts are taken from the tray and the charcoal and ashes removed by tossing them in the wind. They are then ground on the grinding slabs, hulls and all, and the piñon-nut flour thus produced is made into soups and also baked like bread cakes. It is good eating.

One of the yucca plants (the Spanish bayonet) growing in the region has a pod which looks something like a bean pod but is much larger. This pod is gathered by the women and roasted before the fire or in the ashes; the pod—not the seed—is then eaten. It has a burned squash taste, but is relished by the Indians. This pod is also dried after it is split open and the seeds and seed-ribbon are removed. It is then boiled when needed. When thus prepared it has a pumpkin flavor.

A certain acorn, (*quercus undulata*, var.) called *chechil* by the Indians is hulled. The kernel is then ground up and mixed with flour in the proportion of one to five and made into a bread preparation. "Coffee" is also made out of this preparation, by browning the acorn. The acorns



are also eaten raw. The common pumpkin, when only half grown, is sliced and cooked (boiled), seeds and all, and then eaten unsalted. Green corn is cut from the cob and mashed into a pulp on the metates. It is then salted and made into a cake and baked. Thus made it is fine eating. In cooking breakfast, September third, 1901, Naneenhadal mixed walnut kernels with mashed green corn which she baked in cake form.

Bear are plentiful in the Fort Apache region, but no Apache ever kills one, and if one were killed they would not touch its meat. There seems to be some religious objection to the use of bear meat.

All the streams of the region abound in fish, mountain trout occupying the head streams, but no Apache will taste fish. In the lower country fish are infected with worms in summer, and this may account for fish being tabooed, though it is not the reason given by the medicine fraternity.

One July fourth the writer caught thirty Gila trout and cooked them in some skillets he borrowed from a nearby house. When they were prepared for lunch, he tried to get the Indians to help him eat them, but they would not touch them; even the returned school children would not eat them. One of the medicinemen of the tribe was present and he too refused to eat of the fish. The writer was curious. Turning to the medicineman he said: "Brother, tell me why you will not eat fish. Is there anything wrong in eating them."

The old man straightened his bent frame and said: "No, we do not eat fish? They are the spirits of wicked women. Do you see the spots on the fish. Once, a long time ago all our people got an 'awful sick.' They were hot. They were burning up with fever. The medicinemen took them all down by the river's brink and there they gave them the 'sick' sweatbath, the hot steam bath of purification. This they all took. Then emerging from the sweathouse, they plunged themselves into the invigorating waters of the river, only to come out on the opposite bank and die. All who were sick died. The people were enraged against the medicinemen. They thought they had intentionally killed the sick. They rose, as one man, to annihilate them all, when the dead people began to turn spotted just like the fish in the river. The explanation was simple. The bad spirits of the fish had entered the people who had bathed and had killed them all. From that day to this no Apache has eaten fish" (and few of them have ever bathed).

## CARRYING WATER AND WOOD GATHERING

As we have noted previously the Apache woman not only does most of the manual labor but she waits on her husband's every wish. She usually prepares his breakfast for him; then after putting out water for him to wash in, she goes to the hills and runs down his horse, brings it in, and saddles and bridles it. She carries the wood and water, often a half mile or more. She carries the water in a large *tus* swung on her back and supported by a strap which passes from the handles of the *tus* across her forehead. The load is so heavy that she has to bow her neck and bend her body forward to carry it.

She carries the wood, often a monstrous load, in a large basket suspended at her back much as the *tus* is carried. She stands sticks up in the basket so they will lean out from her back. Then she fills the basket with small sticks. The space between the upright sticks and her back she fills with poles laid horizontally, as high as she can pile them, placing the poles over her head on the basket. It is no uncommon thing to see a woman carrying a good burro load of wood to camp.

## SKIN DRESSING

Skins are tanned both by the men and by the women. If it is desired to remove the hair, the skin is buried several days in moist earth. It is then soaked in warm water, after which it is stretched over a pole, fur out, and scraped with a dull knife. It is then left to dry. If it is desired to leave the hair on the hide, this part of the tanning process is omitted. The skin is then turned inside out and carefully fleshed with a sharp knife, that is, all the flesh is pared from it. It is then rubbed with the brains of the animal and allowed to dry, after which it is rubbed and variously handled to make it soft and pliable.

## HAY MAKING

The hay of the region is alfalfa and wild hay. There is not much of the former and what there is, is put up somewhat in the ordinary way. The wild hay grows in bunches as bunch grass and other grass that fills little vales in the mountains and along the canyon sides. When haying time comes, an Indian and his family and several neighboring families move to the hills to cut the hay. As the hay grows in bunches and small patches it is cut by hand, usually by the women, with the old-fashioned sickle and even with butcher knives; if a scythe is used, it is usually wielded by the men. When a sufficient quantity is cut, dried, and collected, it is often carried long distances by arm loads, then loaded on



burros and pack horses and thus transported to the Agency or military post for sale; there are no wagon roads on which to haul it. It is a picturesque sight to see a long train of burros descending from the mountains laden with hay. The year the writer was at Fort Apache, more than two hundred tons were delivered by the Indians in this manner.

### BASKETRY

In making baskets and water jugs, the Apache woman gathers a great quantity of willow withes or switches of the younger growth and ties them in bundles which she keeps in a moist place till used. When needed she splits them into halves with her fingers and teeth, beginning at the heavy end. Then she scrapes them to remove the bark and to make them the proper thickness; the sprouts are sometimes steamed, to aid in the splitting process. When a sufficient quantity of the material is prepared, the basket weaving is begun. A certain number of stiff switch-sprouts are woven into a circle with the split sticks for a base or bottom. The unsplit sticks are then allowed to project vertically as the ribs or framework around which the split sticks are interwoven and intertwined, often so closely as to make the receptacle practically watertight. Rib sticks are added as needed to enlarge the basket; if a water jar is being woven, they are cut out as the weaver approaches the neck. To finish the basket, the rib pieces are often interwoven at the rim and the whole tied down with buckskin or interwoven slender withes. Sometimes, especially for the carrying baskets, a strong withe or a wire is added for firmness. Handles are also interwoven in loop-form on opposite sides of the basket for the attachment of straps, if it is to be a burden basket.

In making the *tus* (or wide-mouthed water jug) it is woven as carefully as possible and then gummed with warm piñon pitch both inside and out. A stopper is made of a bunch of grass or small brush, as needed. In finishing the *tus*, attachments are woven in the opposite sides about at the top of the bulge for the fastening of the head strap used in carrying it. The *tus* varies in size, but the large carrying *tus* holds about five gallons.

A large, unpitched, wide-mouthed storage jug is also made, ranging in size from a few gallons to a fifty-gallon size. The baskets differ in size and shape according to use. The principal kinds are carrying baskets, which will hold about a sack of grain, and the small baskets made for sale. Flaring trays of various shapes and sizes are also made in large numbers.

## TISWIN OR TULAPAI

The women make *tiswin* or *tulapai*, an intoxicant made from corn or fermented mescal stalk and root, as ordered by their husbands or by the band. If made of corn it is soaked, then placed under the bed to sprout (the Apache bed is usually a little excavation in the ground which fits the hips and over this a little grass or brush is placed, on top of which the bedding is laid). It is then dried, after which it is crushed on grinding slabs into a meal. Then various perennial weeds and roots are often added, also a small quantity of the root-bark of the *lignumvitæ* tree and also some loco weed. The whole is then put in five gallon coal oil cans, water is added, and the concoction boiled for several hours. The "white water" is then poured off into empty cans and the residue re-crushed on the grinding slabs. This residue is then added to the "white water" and the whole re-boiled. It is then set aside and allowed to ferment for from sixteen to twenty-four hours, when it is ready to drink. The Indians claim that it is nutritious, but as it is an intoxicant, it is proving a great detriment to the tribe. Not only is it an intoxicant, but various herbs, including the loco weed, are often added to it to give the desired effect, all of which undermines the health. The drinking causes indolence, besides the loss of the grain consumed. Also, while drinking, fights and immoral practices are indulged in that would not otherwise occur. Furthermore, the drinking not only lowers the Indian's resistance against disease, but the exposure often indulged in while drunk, causes pneumonia and consumption.

An Indian in one valley makes his wife take the corn the family needs, sprout it, and turn it into *tulapai*. The day it ferments he invites his male friends from far and near, to drink with him; the women in the immediate vicinity also partake of the liquor. The brawl lasts throughout the night. Women and men get drunk and do not know what they are doing. Besides immoral practices and fights, they lie out in the night air, often entirely naked for hours at a time. Consumption and pneumonia cause the death of many in the tribe as a result of such exposures. Moreover drinking mothers often give *tulapai* in large quantities to their children, even babies. The next day there may be a *tulapai* drinking in another valley and all the men go to it, while their women, weakened by the previous night's brawl, are left at home to do the farm work that their husbands should be doing. The next day there may be a drunk in another valley, and so on, throughout the revolving year.

## AGRICULTURE

The Apache does all the industrial work connected with the farming for the tribe; the Apache man now helps to clear the land and to put in the irrigating ditches on government pay, but he considers any agricultural activity woman's work and refuses any participation in it, if he can avoid it. It is true, however, that Agency influence and persuasion is compelling him to help his wife and daughter in farm work now more than formerly.

The Apache woman now plows her field with a single pony plow. Sometimes she drives the pony with a pair of lines and sometimes she has one of the children ride the horse and guide it for her; sometimes her lazy husband rides it for her. If corn is to be planted on the ground, it is dropped in every third furrow. The writer once photographed a corn planting scene on Cibicu: the husband was riding and guiding the horse, a daughter was plowing, while the wife followed along behind, dropping the corn, as she carried her baby strapped to her back in its cradle.

Small grain is sowed broadcast, often ahead of the plow. After it is sowed and the plowing completed, the ground is harrowed with a modern harrow or a brush or leveled by dragging a log over it. Small grain is then irrigated about four times. Once to get it up, once when it is about ankle high, then at blooming time, and finally while it is filling. Corn is irrigated to get it to come up, provided the ground has not been irrigated just before the plowing and planting. It is hoed when it is ankle high, then irrigated, following which it is hoed or sometimes plowed with a single pony plow, the dirt being thrown toward (ridged against) the corn. It is then irrigated. It is also irrigated again when it tassels, when it silks, and again when it is filling.

Garden truck is not raised much; but when it is, it is put in in rows and the whole grain plot flooded when irrigating. Potatoes are usually planted and cared for like corn.

In harvesting and threshing, a leveled, circular spot of ground is laid off near the grain field for a threshing floor. The grain is then cut with a hand sickle or the butcher knife and bound into sheaves, or piled loosely. It is then hauled or carried to the threshing floor and trampled by running horses. The straw is then removed and the grain separated from the chaff by a winnowing process. Then it is usually washed and dried and is ready for use.

To gather corn, the woman carries her burden basket on her back and when she comes to a hill of corn she jerks the ears off and tosses them over her head into the basket. When the basket is full, she carries



it to a leveled spot, usually close to her tipi where she piles the corn. When she is through jerking the field of corn, she shucks the pile, saving the green ears for a roasting-corn-bake (p. 292). She piles the hard corn where it will dry thoroughly. When dry she shells it and stores it in her storage baskets for future use.

#### SIGN LANGUAGE AND SIGNALING

These people are quite crafty with their sign language. One can thus converse with another and be understood, though neither may understand a spoken word of the other's language. They are even more resourceful, for they can send messages by a signaling system. At the time of the Battle of Cibicu the scouts with the army advised the Indians just how many soldiers were coming and where they intended to camp and all arrangements were made for the massacre when the army was still miles away. When making his first visit to Cibicu in 1902, as the writer and the Indians with him began to descend the Cibicu Range toward Cibicu Valley, the aids began to signal, by flashing sun rays across the intervening space by small reflecting looking-glasses, that the Government party was coming and that the writer was to have charge of the valley and the reflected glasses of the valley answered back: "It is well. We are all well. We have plenty to eat." And so on. About three hours later when the party arrived at the Government quarters in the valley, they found every Indian in the valley there to receive them, having been called together by the signaling. Messages are sent by flashes or mirrors and by rings of smoke and differently arranged fires in the daytime and by flashing of lights and by fires at night.

These Indians also have other ways of imparting information to one another. A stick laid in a certain way in the trail means, you are not to go in the direction the butt end points. If laid at the forks of the trail, it shows which fork to take. A dead owl placed in the trail means that some terrible disease is raging in the region toward which the owl's head is turned; sometimes an owl effigy is used instead of the real bird. Sometimes a tree by the trail has all its limbs cut off except one which leans over the trail. On this is placed a mud effigy of an owl—the image of death. Also around the tree near the ground a band of grass is wrapped and tied with some weeds to warn people of danger in the direction the owl's head points. While the writer was at Fort Apache smallpox broke out at a cow camp on Bonito Creek. Owl effigies were at once placed in all the trails leading toward the camp and no Indian ventured that way and consequently no one got the smallpox.

### THE MOTHER-IN-LAW

The Apache man does not speak to his mother-in-law, and will turn his back on her as she passes him. He never enters her house and if it is necessary for her to come to his, he leaves it, and stays away while she is there. The Apache say that the mother of the wife is the cause of all domestic trouble and is a woman to be shunned. The Apache woman visits her mother-in-law and in a few cases lives with her. The Apache believe that if a man looks at his mother-in-law he will become blind.

### PUNISHMENT OF ADULTERY

Occasionally one sees an Apache woman with the lower part of her nose cut off. This was done by her husband because she was immoral. It was considered by the Apache that he had done his duty. As the husband was accuser, judge, and jury, his jealousy often caused innocent women to suffer. The practice is now forbidden and is not resorted to now.<sup>1</sup>

### TREATMENT OF THIEVES

The Apache did not appear to steal among themselves and only rarely did they take things from white people, unless on a raid. Cabins are abandoned for years with things in them and are never touched. Even a quart of whiskey was left in the farmer's residence seven months while the farmer was detailed at the Agency and it was never touched, though the door to the building was open. So there is no thieving to be punished, but an animal breaking into a field is considered a rogue and his ears are cut off in punishment.

### ALTARS

The altars in various parts of the Reservation usually consist of a pile of stone on which twigs and shingle rock are placed by each passer-by over which they then sprinkle cattail-flag pollen and pray to the gods of the zenith and nadir and to the gods of the four winds. Many of these altars are of the nature of a thank offering. Such is the altar at the top of the Cibicu divide on the trail in the climb westward out of Carrizo Canyon. On reaching this altar on the writer's first trip to Cibicu, the party paused a moment. In this interval, the Indian guide took a tiny

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<sup>1</sup>It is related that at the fort one of the military officers who had charge of the Apache became exasperated at seeing so many women losing their noses and issued an edict against it, sending scouts out to advise the Indians that he would have shot the first Indian who should mutilate his wife by cutting off her nose in a jealous rage. The scouts had hardly returned, so the story goes, when the wife of one of the chiefs rushed into the commander's quarters with blood-smeared face and minus her nose. At once scouts were dispatched for the chief who said he cut off his wife's nose and defied all authority to stop the practice. The chief was immediately shot, it is asserted. At any rate no woman has lost her nose since.

bag from some part of his clothing, and, emptying some yellow, cattail-flag pollen from it into his hand, sprinkled the altar with the sacred dust, after which he scattered some of the dust toward the four winds, as his lips moved in prayer. Having sprinkled the dust to the gods, he replaced the bag and then broke a twig from a near-by tree. This he laid on the altar and over it he placed a small shingle rock. Out of curiosity, the writer asked him what he was doing. He answered that he was thanking his gods that the miserable hill had been climbed.

Once while on the trail from Carrizo to Cibicu, the writer was accompanied by a boy, a son of V19. At the top of the divide they arrived at a tree cactus around which various kinds of wood were piled. The boy walked around it with his right side toward the tree and deposited more wood in a circle around it. Later on, the party came to an Apache "post office" altar on which the boy also placed a bunch of juniper twigs as a prayer.

While on his way from Carrizo to Cibicu, July 19, 1902, the writer passed the two oldest daughters of V26 going in the opposite direction. They had evidently been in a rain, judging by the appearance of their apparel, though the rain had passed Carrizo Creek before the writer started. About two miles west of where the writer passed the women, the trail led over a spot of bare, level ground on which it had rained enough to lay the dust. Here these women had established an altar to the gods to thank them for the rain. The altar was made of rock and the offering was piñon twigs. The encircling of the altar and the dancing around it could be distinctly seen in the dust-laid open space. The young women were the only persons who had come over the trail since the rain, as was indicated by their tracks. They were seventeen and twenty-two years old, respectively.

#### MEDICINE ACCOUTERMENTS

The medicine accouterments of the Apache are their fetishes, tokens, medicine bags and other objects of a similar or allied nature, medicine hats, and various forms of regalia of war, such as shields, tomahawks, bows and arrows, which are now regarded as having medicinal value, though formerly used only in war; also medicine staffs, effigies, wooden gods, medicine hoops, medicine canes, and other paraphernalia used in doctoring the sick. These objects are considered not only as medicine accouterments, but are sacred to the Apache; and it is with a great deal of reluctance and mental pain that they will part with any one of them.



All the Apache have fetishes and other medicine objects. Some of these are arrow-heads and relics from the ruined villages of the region. Feathers, bird and animal skins, claws, bear feet, shells, and fossils are sometimes used for this purpose, also carvings of parts of trees struck by lightning—wood that lightning has run over being considered sacred, also scalps of people killed in long past raids, rock crystals, etc. Many of these are made to retain their fetish power by rubbing with blood now and then for which purpose deer or human blood is usually used. The wood carvings are often miniature effigies. The smaller trinkets are often worn suspended over the chest from a cord around the neck. The claws, bear feet, etc., are frequently worn as beads suspended from the neck. They are frequently enclosed in a buckskin bag and worn suspended over the chest or tied in the clothing. The medicinemen have different fetishes for each special case. The Apache believe that these fetishes give them power over that which the fetish is supposed to have control, even to supernatural powers in the case of the medicineman. There are fetishes controlling every undertaking in life, also those that control sickness and death and the mysterious powers of the universe.

The medicine bag is a little buckskin sack filled with various powders, cattail-flag pollen, berries, seeds, and small trinkets. This bag is concealed somewhere about the clothing. Its contents are sprinkled in prayer to the gods of the universe and over the altars, over people in the dances, and over the sick in the medicine ceremonies. The Apache thinks this medicine has the power to carry the prayers of men to the deities and bring about the desired results.

Cattail-flag pollen for religious use is gathered by the women, though the writer was advised that some of it was collected by the members of the medicine fraternity. This pollen is called *hadn-tin* or *hoddentin* by the Apache and *tadatin* by the Navajo. It is the pollen of the cattail-flag or tule rush, and is used in every important ceremony. It is also sprinkled upon the surface of the water before crossing a stream.

Once the writer purchased a special medicine hat from one of the old medicinemen. At first he did not want to sell it, but as the price was raised until it was tempting, he agreed to sell it, but wished to retain it a few minutes before releasing it. When it was handed back to him, he apologized to it for selling it, saying that his poor family needed the things the money would buy, or else he would not part with it. He further begged it not to be angry with him for parting with it and begged it not to harm his family. His wife then cried and he returned to his house, screaming several times. He then turned the hat wrong side out and presented it to the writer.

On September third, 1901, V25 also brought the writer a hat that he had sold him on the previous Saturday. On presenting it he raised the hat on high and looked toward the zenith, as he said five times: "Brother Ako Unzho," meaning to tell the writer that the place where the gods dwell is a good place. He then looked at the hat and said over again and again to it: "*Yalan*" (good bye). Then as he blew his breath on it in a hissing manner, he gave it to its new owner.

A buckskin medicine shirt was also sold to the representative of a Museum by V19 and the parting with it was a ceremony similar to the one mentioned above. As soon as the Indian had received the money for the shirt he spread it out full length on the ground in an east and west direction. A medicine shirt consists of a front and rear section connected only at the shoulders. Then after addressing each figure on the shirt in turn, as he stood at the west end of it facing the east, he took the figures from the left in a circle around the neck hole, saying: "Dont Zhoda," five times as he held his hand over each figure, medicine button, or feather on the shirt. Then taking a pinch of the cattail-flag pollen in his right hand he sprinkled the first figure on the left shoulder, making a cross on all four sides of it with the pollen. He then made crosses with the pollen around the next figure on the right which was a god representation. Then he passed the pollen across his right eye, making a mark over it. Then he cast the remainder of the pollen toward the eastern sun. He then put his hand over his mouth and placed his tongue between his thumb and fingers and blew a hissing breath through his hand as he spread it out over the shirt, palm down and gave it a side sweep to the right, saying: "*Yalan*" (good bye), five times. He then held the shirt up in his right hand toward the sun with figures in natural position a moment as he again repeated "*Yalan*" five times. He then turned it wrong side out and said: "It is no good to me any more," as he presented it to the purchaser.

A similar incident occurred on August thirty-first, 1901, when the writer purchased a small skull-cap shaped medicine hat of chief medicine-man, V25, at Cibicu. The writer asked the aged man if he had a medicine hat to sell and he sent his wife to the house to get a little medicine hat which he had. It was said to be the most sacred of all the medicine objects he possessed. Handing the writer the hat to examine, he related its history as follows:—

"When a boy I desired to be a medicineman and went to the man most skilled in that art and studied under him. I was taught the use of one after another of the medicine things, but my education was not complete until I learned the use of this



hat. It was then finally presented to me and it kept me diligently busy two weeks to learn to use it. To it I ascribe my success in the medicine practice. I am now quite old, yet my medicine has always made me a living."

Upon presenting the hat to the writer, the old man shrieked five times so that every nook and corner in the surrounding hills echoed the hissing, blood-curdling sound. The old man then cried. The old woman made a hissing sound like a bull-snake, followed by a similar hissing by the old man, who, at the same time, waved his hands as if asking the heavens to part and swallow him up. He then patted his right shoulder, then his left shoulder with the open palm of his right hand. Then he placed his right hand over his chest a moment. Then he placed his left hand and then his right over his heart, as he prayed and asked the gods to bless the writer. Then as he sang a song to the gods for the new owner of the hat, the old woman hissed again, putting her hands together in front of her and separating them with a quick sweeping movement to the side. Then she patted her heart and her shoulders. She lifted her hands on high to the gods, first to the right and then to the left, at the same time blowing her breath in blessing on the writer.

After the writer had agreed to take the hat, V25 asked him to let him have it again for a minute. This was done as wished, and, crying, he took it and held it toward the northeast, the southeast, the southwest, and then toward the northwest, blowing his breath in each respective direction as he held it that way. Then he held it toward the zenith, saying: "*Yalan*" (good bye) five times. He then handed the hat to the writer. But he begged to be permitted to retain it forty-eight hours longer until he could sanctify his premises with it and the sacred pollen, which request was granted.

A similar ceremony occurred in front of the writer's residence on Cibicu when one of the Indians sold his war shield to a visiting ethnologist. The shield was purchased in the evening, but before delivering it, the Indian requested that he be permitted to take it home till morning. At about nine o'clock the next morning he brought it back and laid it in the yard with the decorated side up. Then he talked to it long and earnestly, telling it that he knew it was wrong to sell it, but his family needed the money. He then begged it not to bring harm to his family because he was parting with it. He then sprinkled it with cattail-flag pollen as he prayed earnestly to his gods. He sprinkled each individual part, drawing, and bunch of feathers decorating its face with the same material. Then he prayed loud and earnestly to the gods of the four winds and the gods of the zenith and the nadir. He then turned the shield face down, as he

said "*Tah unzhoda, tah unzhoda,*" too bad, too bad. He then turned it over to the purchaser; and receiving his money, he at once left the place for home as he kept saying, "*Tah unzhoda.*"

#### REVERENCE FOR THE CRAZY AND FEEBLE-MINDED

The Apache have great respect for the crazy and feeble-minded and place credence in their irrational sayings and acts. They believe that such persons have communication with the mysteries and have power to make people well, to kill, to benefit or harm the tribe, as they assert in their actions and sayings. It might be added that many of the medicinemen are old and of failing minds, men whose minds are in the dotage stage. Yet the populace believe their every saying and action and that they have the power to kill or to make live as they choose.

#### REVERENCE FOR SNAKES

The country of the Apache abounds in snakes. There are at least three species of rattlesnakes, all of which are numerous. These are revered by the Indians on account of their power to kill. They never kill a snake. When they see a snake they say to it: "Go into your hole you evil creature and take the evil world with you." Most Indians worship evil as well as good, believing it is better to appease the wrath of the evil, than to incur its enmity. They account for unfortunate things by the snakes that died during the summer and left the evil with them. They will not use anything that has been used or touched in any way in connection with a snake. Once the writer got blood on his hands in killing a snake with a spade. He asked one of the Indians to bring a cup of water and pour some on his hands. Reluctantly the Indian did as he was bidden but none of the Indians would ever use the cup or spade again. An old woman on the Reserve also asserts that her rheumatism was caused by her stepping in some blood where a rattlesnake had been killed.

#### SWEATBATHING

These Indians take a kind of Turkish bath. Near the river bank they construct a small sweathouse about large enough for a man to sit in comfortably. This they cover with blankets. They heat rocks and take them into the house, completely close it, and then pour water on the heated rocks, producing dense steam. Two or more persons take the bath at a time. When the perspiration is pouring from them, they uncover the entrance and jump into the cold water of the river. Two or

more of these sweats are usually taken before they stop. Both men and women take these baths. These are sweatbaths of purification and are also used in performing over the sick. When used for the latter purpose a medicineman presides over the ceremonies and while the bathing is in progress, sings and dances about the sweatlodge and sprinkles pollen dust to his gods.

#### BIRTH CEREMONIES

The birth ceremonies of the Apache are not as elaborate as among many other tribes. The baby is brought into the world without much ado. At times, during childbirth, the woman in labor is tied against a tree with hands above her head and left in this position until the child is born. Sooner or later, the baby is washed with water that has been warmed in the midwife's mouth which is squirted on it. Then the child is rubbed dry with dry grass, soft moss, or a cloth. The midwife then blows her breath strongly over its body as she sprinkles it with cattail-flag pollen. An Indian cradle is made for it, usually by the mother. The floor is padded with moss or clothing is wrapped over it. The child is placed in it, it is covered with more moss or clothing and strapped in, amid much sprinkling of pollen and praying to the gods for the baby's welfare. A few days later a medicine singing is held for it, at which time it is named.

On January fourteenth, 1901, V36's wife came with other women to work under the writer on an irrigating ditch project. After working an hour, she gave birth to a child, partly standing up and partly sitting on her knees, one of the women aiding her in the delivery. She then stood near the fire and dried herself, while some of the women wrapped the child in a blanket and got the mother a cup of coffee. After dinner, the same day, this woman reported for work on the ditch, but the writer refused to let her work, approved her ration ticket and told her to go home, which she did. Her husband was working on another section of the ditch. On arriving for dinner and noticing the condition of his wife and hearing the child cry, he stood motionless for several minutes. Then, without addressing his wife, he sat down with one of his neighbors and ate dinner. Also after dinner, he rode off to his work on the ditch without saying a word to his wife.

On September tenth, 1901, at the camp of Z1, Z1's daughter, the wife of Joe V59, gave birth to a baby boy. She sat on her knees while in labor. As soon as the child was born, the sacred dust was sprinkled on it and it was prayed over to the gods. The next day the mother was in a



very critical condition and had a medicine singing performed over her which lasted from before noon until dawn the next morning. The sacred dust was sprinkled over her about every fifteen minutes during the ceremony, alternately by the men and women participants.

The child was not washed until the day following its birth. A cradle had been constructed for it by one of its aunts, as its mother was too sick to make it. The woman who washed the child warmed a cup of water in her mouth, then squirted it from her mouth on the part she was washing. The Apache believes that besides warming the water holding it in the mouth gives it certain medicinal properties that will be beneficial to the babe. When she had completed the washing and dried his little body with grass, she sprinkled him all over with the sacred pollen, after blowing her breath strongly all over him. She then tied him down in the cradle.

The writer also attended another birth ceremony, which had something of a "christening" nature as follows:—

The baby was ten days old. A solution of steeped, pounded-up herbs had been prepared the day before. When the solution was a proper temperature, the child was stripped and the medicineman, while singing to his deities, imploring their good will toward the infant, took some of the pounded-up weeds in his hand and using them like a sponge washed the baby all over with the solution, the child, in the meantime, crying and screaming. Then the gray-haired medicineman prayed as he shook the weed-sponge to the noonday sun. During the performance, the father and mother both sang with the medicineman. The mother held the naked child in her lap during the ceremony. After praying, the aged man sprinkled the new cradle with the solution. Then the infant was put in it. The solution was then passed around to all those present and each one sprinkled a quantity of it to the nadir and the zenith and to the gods of the four winds.

The Apache formerly killed weakly children at birth. The "cry babies" were also strangled. A white man, probably one of the lost Stratton family who had been captured when a child and his identity lost, lived among the Apache in 1902. He had never married, but it was noticed that an apparently full-blooded young Indian man lived with him and called him father. The writer inquired about the white man and the boy and obtained the following story from the white man himself:—

"One cold chilly morning when I was only about eighteen, I heard an Apache child crying down in the gulch below our house. I went to see what the trouble was

and saw a woman strangling her baby to death because it cried. I took it away from her and saved its life, but was ridiculed by the other Indians. No mother would take the little discarded baby. So I told them I would raise it myself. He now considers me his father and he is a good boy to work."

#### ADOLESCENCE CEREMONIES

The adolescence ceremonies may be divided into two classes, those performed over males and those performed over females. The boys, when entering the period of manhood, go off singly or in groups and fast and pray and perform certain ceremonies prescribed by the medicinemen to make them strong, courageous men, to secure them a suitable wife and healthy offspring, and to receive instruction so they can choose their life occupation and their guardian spirit. The latter appears to them in a dream after exhaustive fasting and praying and may be any animate or inanimate thing or something purely imaginary. Having seen his guiding spirit, the seeker for knowledge makes a miniature effigy of it which he wears suspended from his neck ever afterwards. A medicine bag is also given him at this time to ward off sickness and bring him luck. The ceremony is closed with an elaborate feast, usually followed by a prolonged dance.

When the girl arrives at the threshold of womanhood, she goes through more elaborate ceremonies than the boy, though often not of so private a nature. The females of the vicinity (and sometimes the males) chase her around, heat her up, and then examine her. Then a new blanket is spread on the ground on which she dances to the beat of a drum made of a pottery vessel with rawhide stretched across the mouth. This is a daytime ceremony. As she dances, the "devils" dance around her. These are clowns dressed in the attire supposed to be worn by the great Apache devil, called *cheden*. Their jokes, grimaces, remarks are stunning. After this ceremony the male admirers give presents to the girl. A dance usually follows this ceremony. Below are described two such ceremonies observed by the writer.

At Indian Cooley's camp on Cibicu, April fifteenth, 1901, one of the girls was entering womanhood. Just after breakfast the young people chased her all around the premises and beyond the farmer's residence where the writer was at work. In the final chasing, the girl ran northwestward from her mother's house four hundred yards. Then she returned and ran southeast, east, and then northwest about the same distance in each direction. Then the sacred pollen was sprinkled on her head. While they sprinkled her they prayed to the gods for their ever-protecting care and guidance in her life. A new blanket was spread under

an arbor in front of Cooley's house and on this the girl danced the hours away to the tune of the many songs sung. That afternoon a feast was given in her honor, followed by a dance like that described below.

On July twenty-fifth, 1901, John Lupe's niece who had just arrived at the threshold of womanhood had a dance given in her honor that cost not less than sixty-five dollars. Two beeves were killed and the people feasted throughout the day. The Carrizo and Cibicu boys also matched at ball. This furnished the excitement during the daytime hours, except that now and then an old woman would clown to amuse the populace.

About six o'clock in the evening the captain of ceremonies took a large eagle feather and rolled it in the ashes. After holding it toward the sun he tied it in the girl's hair. The feather was placed in the center line back of the crown so that it hung backward. The chief of ceremonies then took another feather and went through a similar performance with the ashes, tying it with a tiny bell on the head of a cane the girl was to dance with that night. In the adolescent ceremony dance the girl does not choose a partner but dances with a cane.

During the ceremonies of the day, a leveled spot of ground was cleared some one hundred yards in diameter in the nearby woods and a great pile of wood was stacked near the center to be used as fuel for light and heat during the dance ceremonies. As night approached, all the populace repaired thither and seated themselves on their various belongings and blankets in a wide circle around the pile of wood. A fire was then kindled just to the west of the pile. The medicinemen gathered west of the fire and squatted on their blankets and on boughs Indian style, and began to sing medicine songs appropriate for the occasion, two of them beat time on the drum described above. Soon the dance began.

The girls danced first. They formed around the central fire in groups of five to seven, like the spokes in a giant wheel, with the central fire and the musicians for a hub. They all faced inward and danced backward and forward along a radial line from the fire to the outer rim of the cleared area, the girl for whom the ceremony was given leading the dance. After the dance had progressed about twenty minutes, three old women took the cattail-flag pollen, and entering the circle enclosing the dancing area, sprinkled each participant with the sacred pollen, as she made the rounds, beginning at the north side of the enclosure and sprinkling the dancers first as they passed around the circle to the right, after which they sprinkled the musicians.

The sprinkling being completed, the dancing girls went to the group



seated outside of the dancing area and chose male partners by slapping them on the shoulder. The girl then returned to her position, followed by the partner of her choice who faced her with his back to the central fire. At no time did the partners touch each other and when the girl advanced in the step her partner danced backward, when he danced forward she retrograded. A set lasted during the continuance of a chanted song, at the close of which the men returned to their seats and the women chose new partners. Thus set after set was danced throughout the night, being varied now and then by drinking *tiswin* and by the old women dancing singly, as clowns to amuse the onlookers. One of these clowns had a long, yellow strip of cloth tied around her head with ends trailing on the ground behind her.

At sunrise the dance broke up and the men hurled presents at the feet of the girl—stacks of saddles, blankets, and cloth. One man gave her a horse. This act closed the ceremony.

#### MENSTRUAL CUSTOMS

As has been seen, when a girl arrives at the threshold of womanhood she goes through a set of prescribed ceremonies. Also her menstrual periods are a matter of special care to prevent injuring her health, sometimes extending to extreme foggy notions, as in the case cited below.

On June twenty-eighth, 1901, John Lupe's wife was having her menstrual period. She would not work in the cornfield lest the menses cease prematurely and injure her. The Indians asserted that if a woman goes into the cornfield and works during her period, it always makes her sick.

#### COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

Among the Apache the female is the aggressor in courtship. By a look, word, or a slap, in passing the man of her choice, she shows him that his attentions are welcome. She also chooses him in the dances. He then becomes the aggressor. He watches her most frequented trail, usually the one over which she carries water. For the furtherance of his object, he places a row of stones in some secluded spot on both sides of this trail for a distance of from five to fifteen feet. Then he hides himself in the immediate vicinity and waits for her to come along, showing himself to her through the bushes or by peeking over a ridge or behind some obstruction just before she arrives at the lines of stones. If she passes to the side of the rows of stones it is a refusal; but should she pass on the trail between the stones, it is an acceptance. He then sometimes rushes

out, seizes her, and takes her to his camp. But instead, she usually slips into his house and stays with him a number of nights, varying in different parts of the Reservation. She then stays a night with him, cooks his breakfast the next morning, hangs out his bedding to air, and usually gets his horse and saddles in for him. He shows his acceptance of her as his wife by eating what she cooks and taking the horse she has saddled for him. He then must buy her from her parents or guardian, or from her former husband's relatives, should she be a widow. The price is usually about one hundred dollars in blankets, ponies, and trinkets. The offered goods are taken and placed against the girl's house or near it during the night; if they are acceptable, the girl's family take possession of them and she goes at once (or the very next night) to the man's house to be his wife. If the price is not acceptable, it is at once returned.

Sometimes it is considered that the amount offered is too small and more is demanded. The suitor puts up more and if he has not enough himself he (or his parents or guardians) borrow of relatives until a sufficient amount is secured. The Apache are good at helping the aspiring boys in such cases and the writer never knew a case where the borrowed property was not paid back. But sometimes the suitor is flatly rejected, and no property value will induce the girl's people to let her become his wife. For instance, one of the stable boys at the Agency wished to marry a good-looking and well-behaved Apache girl in 1901, but her parents refused to permit the marriage. The suitor was persistent. Five times he took his goods to her home to buy her, increasing the amount each time, but the objection could not be overcome. So he finally married another girl.

The fact that a girl is a financial asset to the family is the cause of much trouble. The husband considers that he has bought and paid for his wife and treats her accordingly. Consequently, the writer was called on to settle many family differences. Moreover, when an Apache family is in bad financial straits they sell their daughters often when they are too young to be married; for example, a marriage of an eight year old boy to a girl about the same age. Of course this marriage was not reported to the Agent or approved by him. The Apache marry when too young so that, as a result, there are many separations.

The following courting and marriage customs in different sections of the Reservation were related to the writer by medicinemen of the respective sections.

At Cibicu, when courting, the woman comes to her intended husband's house seven nights in succession. On six mornings she rises



before dawn and goes home, but on the seventh morning she stays, hangs out his bed in the sun, cooks his breakfast, and sets it before him, but she herself does not taste it. She then goes home, where she remains some months while he collects property enough to purchase her. When the property is delivered, they have the agent marry them and they live together.

In courting, at Fort Apache, a girl and boy often slap each other, tap each other, or rap each other over the back or head in a loving way with a stick or anything else which they may have in hand, appearing, to a stranger, as if they were angry at each other. At some gathering, the boy accompanied by another boy or the girl by another girl proceeds to where the other individual is. If there happens to be only one boy at the place, another boy is hunted up for the extra girl. The boy and girl who want to mate go off alone for a friendly chat. After a few such meetings the boy goes to the girl's house, taking another boy with him, for whom a second girl is obtained. Here he has another chat. After he has visited her at home a few times, she, in company with another girl, visits his house. After about five such visits from the girl, a separate house is built for the boy and at nightfall he goes to bed in it. Then, after everyone has retired, the girl slips over to her fiancé's house and crawls in with him, but she does not touch him during the night. In the early morning she slips back to her own house before any of her people are up. The next night she steals to his camp again and sleeps with him, but the next morning she cooks his breakfast and takes his bed out to sun. She does not taste the breakfast and when he has eaten she goes home. This last act shows him that she is willing to take care of him and to live with him. His eating what she has cooked demonstrates his acceptance of her as his wife. He then proceeds to purchase her from her parents or guardian. Then they go to the Agency to be lawfully married.

#### SCHOOLS

Until recently the Apache did not think much of schools and learning that to enter the boarding school at Fort Apache a child had to pass a physical examination at the beginning of the school year, they often did all they could to impair the child's health so he could not pass the required test. About two weeks before school each fall they inaugurated medicine dances and kept the children in constant turmoil to wear them out—they said it was done to make the child medicine-proof against the white man's ways and medicines. Sometimes they would dip them in the cold water of the creeks and hold them there to make sure that they

would be too sick to be admitted to school. This practice worked well to keep the children out of school, but sooner or later it cost the lives of many of them.

The Indians also resorted to other ruses: for instance, the children feigned illness when the officers came for them when they were actually well. In fact, every possible excuse was used. One time, the writer was ordered by the Agent to go to Canyon Creek to get the children of a certain family and bring them to school. As he approached the place he saw the two little girls out in the field working with their mother. As the writer started to descend the canyon, the children spied him and were heard to exclaim, *Indah* (white man). The tortuous trail descending into the valley wound about so that he was out of sight of the field and the children for a moment. When he came in sight again, the children were no where to be seen. On arriving at the camp he found them lying on a blanket coughing and breathing hard. They were "awfully sick," said the mother. "All same got pneumonia. Soon die, may be." The writer said nothing and rode away. Once out of sight he tied his horse and slipped into the canyon on foot. And the children were running about playing with high glee in the field again. Two days later they were in the Fort Apache boarding school.

#### DISEASE

The Apache are a much diseased people. Their drinking so much *tiswin*, their exposure while drunk, their filth, and their sleepless nights at medicine ceremonies are breaking them down physically. The principal diseases are pneumonia and tuberculosis in its various forms, trachoma and other eye diseases, also much digestive disturbance. Furthermore, their medicinal practices tend to spread these diseases instead of to cure them.

As remedies for diseases the Apache also effect some cures through the use of herbs and minerals. For gonorrhoea and syphilis they take certain quantities of the saline deposit that covers the muddy bank of Carrizo Creek, which seems to consist of sodium magnesium chloride and sodium sulphate. They also use the bark of several herbs and trees, among which is the bark of *Populus tremuloides* to cure ague, fevers, and also gonorrhoea. The bark and herbs are pounded, crushed into a semi-pulverized condition, then made into a tea and the concoction drunk in great quantities. For the male, in venereal diseases the parts affected are wrapped in the pulverized concoction, and in the case of a woman, her vagina is filled with it. A splint made of cedarbark is also sometimes used to splint up fractures of legs and arms.

## SOCIAL DANCES

The social dances are held for amusement whenever the Indian is so inclined. At such dances no special costume is worn, except that each dancer wears his best. There are two styles of this dance. One is similar to the dance in the adolescence ceremonies, except that no girl dances with a cane and the unmarried women all choose male partners. The second style of dance is described below.

As in the type previously described there is a central fire to the west of which the musicians, drummers, and all the men who care to dance are seated. Around them is a large leveled area on the margin of which are seated the families and spectators. In the space surrounding the fire the unmarried women form in couples, facing inward. The married women do not dance, except as clowns, lest their ever-jealous husbands whip them, possibly before they get home. The same girls dance together all night. These two girls choose a single boy to dance with in each set, by walking straight to where he is seated and touching him on the shoulder, after which they immediately turn around and walk away. If the boy refuses to dance, the masters of ceremony compel him to dance. Sometimes they take hold of him forcibly and escort him to the girls who have chosen him. In dancing the girl does not touch the boy but faces him at a distance of about a step. The dancing consists of a swinging back and forth on a radius of the great dance wheel, usually five steps forward and seven backward, in time with the music of the drum and the singing, the girls dancing forward and the boys backward and *vice versa*. To see all the radii of the great dance wheel move backward and forward in the light of the huge central fire is a picturesque sight. The completion of a song marks the conclusion of each dance; then partners are chosen for another set. At intervals there are feasting, visiting, and *tulapai* drinking. The dance usually continues till the coming of the morning light.

## DEATH CEREMONIES

When the Apache bury the dead they clothe them in the best attire they can afford, usually the best that the camp can furnish. Then they wrap the deceased in a blanket and carry the body to the hills and throw it into some crevice in the rocks (or a grave). They sprinkle ashes (and pollen) in a circle around the grave to the right beginning at its southwest corner; this is a prayer that the soul may safely enter *O'zho*, heaven. Then they fill the grave with earth and stone. Sometimes they deposit the corpse in a cavity left by the removal of a rock or the stump of a tree. The body



is crammed into the hole in the smallest possible space. The rock or stump is rolled back into its former position and a number of stones are placed around the base to keep the coyotes out. When an infant dies it is often hung up in a tree in its cradle and a *tus* of water is tied near it that the little one may drink at will. After the burial they burn the house of the deceased and everything in it; they also kill his stock. Then for a month they mourn for him at morning, noon, and night, giving utterance at intervals to dismal coyote-like yelping lamentations which are apparently sincere.

After the dead are buried, the Apache believe that the owls come and call for them and take their spirit away.

The writer attended many ceremonies for the dead while among the Apache. A description of the most conspicuous one attended follows. The person who had died was a young man. The writer was not present when he died at about 8 p.m. one evening, but arrived only about five minutes afterwards. As soon as those present were satisfied that the young man was dead, they wrapped his face in a piece of cloth, folded his arms and covered him with a blanket. Then followed the wake. At intervals during the night the medicineman comforted the relatives, talking for more than ten minutes at one time. Then he went out of the house and talked for a considerable time to the friends and relatives camped outside. He then scampered off into the darkness where he sprinkled ashes to the four sacred directions. He returned and entered the house and seated himself at the head of the bed on which the dead man lay. From then until 3 a.m. everyone remained quiet, except for now and then a wail from a mourning woman. The time was spent in telling stories and in playing jokes on each other, the wake resembling our wakes in many respects. At 4 p.m. the ceremonial *tulapai* was passed around and each one drank to the welfare of the dead, all the men and women crying and wailing. The *tulapai* was drunk because it is believed that it will aid the departing soul in going to the good place. It is drunk to one of the sacred regions, to one of the gods who hold up the four corners of the earth according to the Apache myths. It was drunk again at half past four, at five, and at half past five, once to each of the gods of the sacred regions. It was then morning. Several guns were fired four times in succession, once to each of the regions above mentioned. Then the wailing-howling for the dead began in earnest. The chief medicineman prayed to the gods and again spoke words of condolence. In his prayer he expressed the idea that the Indian did not know where the dead had departed. He used these words. "*Hio esken*

*eskingo boyonsidda*," where is the child this morning? We don't know. (In translation). "Where will he be day after tomorrow? We don't know." He continued this interrogating and answering until he had asked where he would be ten days from that day and again said: "We don't know." His prayer or sermon was quite lengthy. While he was praying the mourners ceased to howl and wail. At the close of his speech, the women jerked and tore the canvass from the house, removed every valuable from inside it that did not belong to the deceased, pulled down the rushes and yucca leaves that formed the wall and entered the house from the north side. A sick Apache is usually placed on the north side of the house with his face to the east and when he dies he occupies such a position in the house. When all had entered the house in this way they viewed the corpse. It was then morning and the dressing of the dead began. He was stripped, washed, and then dressed in a full new outfit of white man's attire, even new shoes. His hair was parted and brushed smooth with a hairbrush. His wrists were covered with bracelets and beads. At his neck he wore a brand new necktie, four strings of beads and one string of his medicine stones, beads, feathers, and fetishes. When dressed, everything which belonged to him even the letters which he had written home when at school were wrapped up with him in his blanket-shroud. After the burial, which the writer could not attend, the house and everything belonging to the deceased or which he had used while sick, except what was buried with him, was destroyed, combustible things by fire; his horses and cattle were shot.

After rounding up the grave they sprinkled the sacred pollen over the mound. Then they set the vessel in which the pollen (and ashes) was brought to the place, on the mound at the head of the grave. A month later it was still resting on the grave with ashes in it. The corpse was buried facing the morning sun.

Another funeral was witnessed on September 15, 1901, C2's granddaughter by his oldest daughter, died. The writer arrived at the house only a few minutes after she had ceased to breathe and had the privilege of observing most of the funeral and burial ceremonies.

As soon as she died the medicine fraternity sprinkled earth and ashes over her, while practically all present wailed the death lament. The coyotes of the surrounding hills joined this chorus, their howls and the wailing sounding much alike and causing the hills and valleys to resound with ear-grating sounds. At sunrise the next morning the corpse was taken to the hills east of Cibicu Valley and interred. Before the burial, the corpse was dressed in her best attire, then rolled in the best

blanket the camp could afford. After the burial, provisions were placed near it to take it on its journey. Then earth and ashes were again sprinkled over it; it was left to journey to the portals of the happy hereafter. After the funeral, the grandfather returned to the camp and burned it and all that was in it except the medicine charm which was taken to the hills and deposited among the rocks. The little girl's horses were also killed.

On Sunday February 16, 1902, west of the Post there was a *tulapai* drunk on the ridge on which D25 lived. The fourteen-day old baby of D25 was given some of the drink by its mother and died from the effects the next morning (the seventeenth). When the writer came from White-river the day the baby died, he found D25 lying face down in the dirt in his yard. A few minutes later he saw Mrs. D25 and noticed that she was crying. He at once went to the house. The little one was still alive. A medicineman was singing over it. At 2 p.m. all hope for its recovery was abandoned and the preparation of the death feast was begun, *tulapai*, etc., at several of the camps of the ridge. About sunset the baby died. As it was dying nothing out of the ordinary was done, except that ashes were sprinkled on it. For hour after hour before it died all mourned and wailed, the father, twenty-four years of age, out-wailing his wife and mother. At the death of the child, all present, both men and women, joined in the death wail, the man's mother wailing in the house, his mother-in-law outside, as she was not allowed to enter the house while her son-in-law was there—it is forbidden for him to see her at any time even in the presence of the dead. The next morning D25 aided by his wife, dressed their baby for the funeral. D25 then left his house so that his mother-in-law might enter and view the corpse. At about 10 a.m. on the eighteenth the corpse was taken to the hills and buried.

After anyone of the family dies, it is the custom of the Apache to set aside a certain part of their fields as the field of the dead. They refuse to cultivate this field for a period of three years. The writer encountered several such cases, one of which was as follows:—

F13, a woman, claimed the entire Glecen flat at Salt River. She said F11 came to Salt River with her many years before and planted all the flat one season. Then one of her children died. So she dedicated most of the flat to the deceased and had let it go to weeds for two years. The writer compelled her either to farm the land or lease it to others, as irrigable land in the section was very scarce. He also compelled her to allow the irrigating ditch to be worked. This she consented to do, but



with a great deal of grumbling and abuse of the *Indah* (white man) who she said had no respect for the dead.

#### CEREMONIES FOR THE SICK

The medicine ceremonies consist of medicine singings and medicine dances and accompanying ceremonies. The writer attended many of these ceremonies and presents his observations on each ceremony witnessed. All the Apache believe that evil spirits entering the body are the cause of sickness and death and all the medicine, which consists mostly of dancing, is to drive the spirits (sick) away. The ceremonies are usually performed at night.

A general idea of the ceremonies may be had from the following brief accounts of ceremonies observed by the writer during the interval July, 1901, to May, 1902.

1. A child cutting teeth was sung over; the medicineman sang a four beat chant accenting the fourth word or syllable. At the close of each song, he spat in the fire two or more times. The singing lasted throughout the night.

2. A medicineman (J15) sang at the house of an ex-scout to cure a woman with a bad toothache. He sang for hours till he became so hoarse that the singing was more like the growling of some mountain beast. The people assembled were very much alarmed at the writer's visiting them during the ceremony. After they had sung for some hours, they passed around the *tulapai* to all. It was also passed around several more times from that time until morning. While the ceremony continued the patient slept as much of the time as the racket would permit. The writer does not believe she was suffering much, not as much as the medicineman who was singing over her.

At rest intervals in this singing the following were related by the medicineman:—

“The beads on my medicine string which dangles from my neck are pebbles from the brook that were ground down to their present shape by much labor. They are like the eyes of the *chedens* (devils).

My white brother, you probably will not believe it, but I am all powerful. I will never die. If you shoot me, the bullet will not enter my flesh, or if it enters it will not hurt me.” (As proof of his assertions he showed the writer his right hand which had once received a bullet wound and the bullet was still lodged in the palm.) He continued: “If you stick a knife in my throat, thrusting it upwards, it will come out through my skull at the top of my head without hurting me. The songs I sing,” he added after a pause, “are to the clouds and to the earth.”<sup>1</sup> Continuing again, after

<sup>1</sup>As the aged man was exalting his powers, one of the young men left the house and during his absence he saw something which frightened him. When he returned his knees were trembling and he was quaking. He said that he had seen a ghost (*cheden*) and that it had struck his knees and that was why they shook. The medicineman sprinkled him with the sacred pollen and prayed over him a few minutes, then resumed his singing.

sprinkling the sacred pollen a moment: "I am all powerful. If I should tell any one to sit in a certain place he would be compelled to stay there until I gave him permission to move, so great is my power. I have all power. If I should pray for rain, it will rain in less than three days. I am all powerful. If I wish to kill any one, all I need to do is to thrust out my hand and touch him and he dies. My power is like that of a god."

3. On Carrizo Creek at the camp of V28, July 18, 1901, the medicine fraternity gathered around the patient in his house at about ten o'clock in the evening and commenced singing, first low and then as the night wore away, with increased intensity. Now and then there was a lull when all drank liberally of *tulapai*. At about two in the morning during a pause in the singing the medicineman produced a live sand lizard from some part of his clothes and rubbed it over the afflicted parts of the patient as he spat in the fire and now and then hissed by forcibly sending the air from his mouth. When he had finished with the lizard he had a little boy carry it beyond the house and turn it loose. The singing was then resumed for a little while. Then the medicineman produced a live snake of the striped, harmless kind, and performed with it as he had previously with the lizard. After a short singing spell he produced a bear claw and performed with it over the patient similarly. As he was thus performing he turned to the writer and said:

"Brother, these are good medicine. The lizard remedy is for burns and throat trouble, the snake and bear claws are for swelled legs, rheumatism, etc. The medicine dance is for all cases in which the patient is affected with fits. The medicinemen eat fire and pick up red hot rocks to show their power."

4. A singing was held west of the Post the night of August 16, 1901 over an eighteen year old girl who was in the last stages of consumption; her feet were already swollen. She lay on a pallet of willow branches. The eighteen singers were protected from the weather by a circular canvass enclosure about thirty feet in diameter. The remedy was the bear-claw performance previously described.

5. At the camp of N2 near Red Rock, August 22, 1901, a performance similar to the preceding was observed. The guttural chanting was produced with great effort and great earnestness and apparently with much faith on the part of the participants.

6. At the camp of V26, the evening and night of September 3rd, 1901, his second daughter had a hysterical spell, but soon recovered and helped her mother get supper. After supper she had another spell. She became limp and the people of the house stretched her out on a bed near the fire instead of taking her out in the air as they should



have done. They then laid her head on what they called a medicine pillow though it looked just like any other pillow. Here she lay for hours. Her body relaxed and became rigid, alternately. Her jaws were set so that a stick was placed between her teeth, thus preventing lockjaw or her biting herself. She lay unconscious on the cot for hours. She was sung over occasionally and now and then ashes were sprinkled over her person and rubbed on her feet and chest. The whole body was also occasionally shaken vigorously. After midnight she gradually recovered and on the following morning she was able to help cook breakfast.

7. A singing over a sick horse was held at the camp of Z3, September 11, 1901.

Z3 had a sick horse. His wife recited a formula rigmarole to the horse, then breathed on it in a hissing manner. She then said that the horse would get well and it did.

After the horse had recovered the old medicineman told the writer the following myth:—

The earth stands on four legs. Its origin was as follows: Once upon a time, a spider was suspended by his tiny cord. His chest became dirty. He rubbed off the dirt with his tiny fist and rolled up a tiny ball with it. This ball began to grow and continued to grow until it became this mighty earth.

8. A singing observed at the police camp was a very peculiar affair. One medicineman sat at the feet of the patient and another at his head. Each chanted a different song. The patient had brain fever and was delirious during the performance.

9. This singing was held on Cibicu, April 4, 1901, over a sick woman. The house was crowded with people. The singing commenced at about nine o'clock in the evening and continued until morning. During the singing the patient ate, listened, or slept. She appeared much improved the next morning.

10. A singing at V19's place, April 30, 1901 was very similar to the preceding. At intervals the medicineman related myths, some of which were as follows:—

The sacred regions are at the four corners of the earth. At each is located a happy hunting ground and the dead may go to which ever place they choose.

Four men made the earth and are now standing at the four corners holding it up. They are four of the gods to whom the Apache pray.

In speaking of the dead, he further stated: "We Apache endow each object with its spirit counterpart and either burn or kill the individual's belongings that they may accompany him on his spirit journey."

11. This medicine singing was held over a boy of about sixteen years of age at the Camp of C1, May 13, 1901. Two pottery drums were

used. The medicineman wore a buckskin medicine shirt which had four feathers each with a piece of clamshell at each side in a perpendicular line, both front and back. It also had two feathers suspended at the center line in front and two behind and had two medicine god designs in front, one on each side about four inches below the shoulder. The face-head part of one of these medicine designs was a sun disk with rays eight inches long projecting from it. The other head and face design, including the headwear, was a moon mask god design with feather-crested head. Across the lower part of the shirt front was a snake design and at the back and just below and back of the arms was a butterfly design, and back of it about two inches in a perpendicular line on each side were three crescent moons. The central back figure was a god design. The sick boy had a green wreath of swamp weed around his head. After they had sung five songs, the old medicineman took the sacred pollen and made a cross first on the sick boy's breast, then on each shoulder, though first, on the left shoulder, as he prayed to his deities. He then set the bowl of pollen down and the patient took some of it and placed it in his mouth. The singing continued till morning.

During an interval in the singing, the writer asked the medicineman about the butterfly design on the medicine shirt and he explained its use as follows:—

Butterfly antennæ are used as medicine. They are placed under the hat band, under the shirt, or in some other place obscured from view, but known only to the Indian himself. The women mix the "paint" of the butterfly's wing with the common or pounded-up-rock paint and then paint their faces with the concoction. We put the butterfly on our medicine objects because of its medicinal properties.

12. A medicine singing at the camp of V28 on Carrizo Creek, July 3, 1901 commenced at about nine p. m. Two medicinemen, accompanied by several other persons, entered the camp and a performance was begun over V28 who was sick. They sang about an hour, each song ending with an accented *hay* followed by each one present spitting in the fire. During this performance a wooden medicine snake lay between the fire and the sick man with its head pointed toward the afflicted parts. It tapered uniformly from head to tail. The head resembled that of a rattlesnake, though in some respects it represented a water snake. The body of the snake had twenty-five black semicircles extending over its back from side to side. The head was spotted, and had two large eyes.

When the performance began, V28 had a high fever and a rapid pulse. After the singing had lasted an hour, the chief medicineman placed the snake on top of the left shoulder with head pointed toward

the feet. He then slid it slowly down the arm and down the extended left leg as he continued his singing; the others present did not sing in this case. When reaching the foot he spat in the fire as before, all others present doing the same. He then placed the snake in the hot ashes with head toward the fire, as he prayed repeatedly to his gods. Then he placed the lower surface of the snake's head on the afflicted parts in five different directions or positions, saying each time as he did so, "*Zis, zis, zis, ziz, ziz, ziz,*" in imitation of the rattling of a rattlesnake. At the close he spat in the fire as before. Then he began on the right leg and shoulder and proceeded as previously. After placing the snake in the five different positions on the afflicted parts, he placed it in five different positions on the top of the patient's head, saying each time as he placed it, "*Ziz, ziz, ziz, ziz,*" etc. This done, he repeated the above described ceremony, beginning again on the left shoulder. The snake performance completed, he threw the snake in the air over the man's body to the other side of the house where V28's little son placed it in the wall of the house. The chief medicineman then washed his hands. Then all present smoked, while the patient took supper.

At this juncture the writer examined the patient's pulse again and found that it was practically normal; also that his fever had nearly left him.

After the smoke, the singing was resumed and continued until morning.

The medicine singing above was continued the next evening (July fourth, 1901) at about nine o'clock. The medicine singers were the same as in the previous singing. At the beginning of the performance a bear claw was placed between the patient and the fire. After singing about one hour as on the previous evening, a little boy took the bear claw and dipped it in an herb solution contained in a cup. Then, still holding the claw in the solution, he scraped it with a knife, scraping downward. This finished, he handed the claw to the medicineman, who then commenced practising his art on the patient with it. Beginning at the top of the left shoulder, he slid the claw with its back down, so to speak, from shoulder to toe, as he sang. He then dipped the claw into the ashes three times. Then he proceeded to rub it back down on the afflicted parts, saying as he did so "*You, you, you, you, youm, hah, hah, hah, hah, hah*" (the "hah's" being shortened and uttered roughly). When this part was finished, he commenced on the right side and proceeded as on the left. Having completed the rubbing on this side he proceeded to rub the afflicted parts as before described. The second



application being completed, he placed the claw with back down on five different positions on the head of the patient, saying, "Oo, oo, oo, oo, oom, hah, hah, hah, hah, hah." When this was done, he washed his hands, and all smoked while the patient ate his supper. Then a midnight meal was furnished for those who were waiting on the patient. The singing then continued till morning and at sunrise a second meal was provided for all present. Then the sacred cattail bloom having been sprinkled over everyone present, everyone set out for home.

13. The following month the writer witnessed an identical performance at V28's place. The eight month's old child of C38 was placed on a blanket near the fire and a medicine woman sang over it. Her singing sounded much like the exhortation of a preacher. It was a prayer to the gods that the child might get well. At the close of each song she made a hissing sound like a bull snake, blowing her breath over the child at the same time. At midnight she ate a lunch. Then she sang as before till morning. All that ailed the little one was that it had cried considerably the previous evening.

15. At Indian Cooley's camp, July 17, 1901, only men sang. It seemed that the whole ceremony was merely to pass the time between drinking Indian whiskey. The singing lasted the whole night.

16. A medicine singing at the camp of V15 on Carrizo July 25, 1901 was held for the mother of V15 who had some broken ribs.

17. A medicine singing at Police Ben's camp on Cibicu August 4, 1901, was held for a brother of Ben's wife who had been dead since the previous June. It was held throughout the night.

18. A singing at the camp of V26, August 19, 1901 was to quiet Mrs. V26's angry spell. She was angry because her former daughter-in-law had married a San Carlos man. The singing lasted throughout the night.

19. A medicine singing at Peaches' place, August 20, 1901 was held over a sick child. The oldest medicineman of the district and his wife over present. The male actors sang the bear song. The aged man's wife then sang a "revivalist" sounding song. The child was sick with summer complaint.

20. A medicine singing at Indian Cooley's camp on Cibicu the night of August 20, 1901 was held over Cooley's sister-in-law who was sick. The drum accompanied the singing. Nearly the whole population of the valley was at the singing. One of the songs sung was:—

Ha'ya a i' you yo' zay,  
 Ha'ya a i' you yo' zay,  
 Ha'ya a i' you yo' ye,  
 Ha'ya a i' you yo' zay

(All the a's are pronounced like a in ask.)

A little boy dying with scrofula at the camp of V19 August 20, 1901 was sung over. The singing lasted throughout the night.

21. A singing was held at Indian Cooley's camp in the fall of 1901 over the aged wife of Cooley's brother who was killed. It began at about nine thirty in the evening and lasted till morning. After singing some time the sacred meal was sprinkled. A deerskin was then folded to form a square and on it the youngest child of the afflicted woman was seated, facing the chief medicineman. An old man and an old woman sprinkled the sacred pollen, first, so that it fell on the chief medicineman's hat and in front of his face, then it was sprinkled over the circle of chanters, and lastly, on the child. The dust was first put on its right shoulder, then on the left, then on its head, closing by making a cross on its breast. This was followed by a prayer, a part of which was, "This medicine is good. We trade it to you, O gods, that our sister will get well." The patient was not sprinkled with the pollen. This sprinkling and praying occurred thirteen times during the night. During this ceremony a fire was kept burning to the gods a few rods west of the Indian camp.

22. These ceremonies were held at the camp of C2 on Cibicu in the fall of 1901 over a little girl who was sick. She lay on a pallet to the south of the fire in the center of the house. To the left of this bed was a set of medicine hoops, painted to represent the rainbow. The feathers which had been removed from them were wrapped up to show that they were not to be used in this ceremony. A medicine cross was also wrapped up and hung from the house wall. At the head of the bed was suspended a medicine shirt. On the front of this, at the left, were suspended, in succession, five feathers together with five pieces of clam shell, beginning first on top of the shoulder and suspended on down the front about four inches apart. Each clam shell and feather was suspended from a god design. The upper one represented some terrible monster, with claws like a crayfish. The next lower was a human figure with the sun for a head. The others were so covered by the feathers that the writer could not make them out. Between the row of feathers and the center line was another row of emblems. The upper one just below the shoulder line was a huge spider; the next lower the crescent "dark" moon, the next lower, the crescent "light" moon; the next, the sacred butterfly. On the center line were suspended, in succession, four feathers and four pieces of clam shell, a feather and a clam shell being suspended from the same place. On the right side of the shirt were five feathers and five pieces of clam shells, a feather and a clam shell being hung together, in a



perpendicular line on the shirt. Each set of these was suspended from a god design, only one of which could be distinctly seen. It was a human figure with a drawing of the moon for a head. Around the lower margin of the shirt was the great rainbow and just above it was a drawing of the great snake. The shirt was put on the patient and then the usual singing was continued throughout the entire night.

23. A pet deer owned by B30's daughter was chased by dogs and badly bitten by them. A medicine singing was inaugurated at the camp of A56 west of the Post January 23, 1902 to cure it. The owner of the deer was the leading medicine woman of the entire region, and she used all her powers to try to save her deer. The singing began at about eight p.m. and continued throughout the night. A set of medicine hoops representing the rainbow was hung over the male singers who were the principals in the ceremony. The chief of ceremonies was the medicine girl. She led the singing for a time and then she talked about the gods. While talking she had the absolute attention of all present. Toward morning there were dance ceremonies. The deer died.

24. In this ceremony held west of the Post January 24, 1902 four hoops were used, painted blue, white, yellow, and green; all had eagle feathers suspended from them. These hoops were supposed to represent the rainbow; the Apache believe that the rainbow is a complete circle of which only a part is ever seen by human eyes. As the singing progressed, the sacred pollen was sprinkled now and then. The ceremony was held in the open. At midnight a snowstorm drove the singers into A56's house where the singing was continued till morning.

25. The singing was held over the wife of a brother of Z1, May 16, 1902 who had consumption. The four feathered medicine hoops were placed in pairs opposite each other, against the inside wall of the house, one hoop facing each of the semi-cardinal directions. The northwest one was white, the southeast one black, the southwest one yellow, and the northeast one green. These hoops resembled wooden barrel hoops. Each had a figure like a large inverted V painted in series on the outside. The figures on the white hoop were yellow, those on the green one, red, those on the black-blue one, white, and those on the yellow one, black. When sprinkling the sacred pollen, the leader first held the pollen between the thumb and finger of the left hand as he faced the east and sprinkled it to the wind. Then he repeated the performance as he held his hand toward the northeast, and so on, around the circle of the horizon. He then sprinkled the drummers, medicinemen, and singers in the order given, then each of the hoops in succession, beginning with the north-

west hoop and going around the circle toward the southwest and south. The sacred dust was sprinkled twelve times during the night. Morning closed the ceremonies.

26. The daughter of E30 was sung over in the forenoon of February twenty-fifth, 1902. Several medicinemen made a crude image of wood in the likeness of the great *cheden* (devil). When finished, they painted it, drew such designs on it as suited their fancy, and feathered it according to the medicine style for such effigies. At about four p.m. it was finished. The medicine strings were then put in place in the house. A string was tied across the side of the house on the inside, opposite each of the four corners of the earth. Then these were feathered with many war eagle feathers. The medicine god was then brought into the house and placed facing the daughter of E30 who reclined on a blanket south of the central fire of the house; she was suffering from consumption and was the patient for whom the ceremonies were to be performed. The medicine god had the image of an Indian painted on the front. The painting was three inches long, the body green, the hair black, the face worked out in black and white lines, and the hair long and black. The singing lasted all night. At midnight the medicineman placed the effigy face up on the afflicted parts in five different directions as he prayed to his gods and sprinkled the sacred meal to the deities and the four winds. Four very small medicine hoops were then produced and were manipulated in much the same way as the medicine god. The singing continued throughout the night and was repeated the following night.

27. A young girl of about fourteen, was sung over west of the Post February 6, 1902. Medicine was also administered. This was the root which the Indians use for stomach trouble. After the root had been administered, a feather was tied to the stem of the plant from which the root had been cut. The woman of the evening, the mother of the child, had the sacred pollen placed in a circle on each cheek just beneath the eyes. The sacred dust was sprinkled alternately to the four sacred regions by two women about every half hour, each praying at length at each sprinkling. The pollen was sprinkled on the drum first, first across the west drum, from north to south, then from east to west. It was then sprinkled on the medicineman, then over the east drum. The ceremonies closed at dawn.

#### CEREMONIAL DANCES

When the simple singing ceremonies just described fail to cure the sick, any one of a number of ritualistic dances may be held. Several of

these and other dances are described, as observed by the writer, during the period from July, 1901, to May, 1902.

*The Wheel Dance.* When observed, this ceremony was conducted by Nakai'doklin'ni, who is said to have used it to restore two chiefs to life at Cibicu in the summer of 1881, which finally led to the battle of Cibicu and a long series of Apache outbreaks.<sup>1</sup> Previously, Nakai'doklin'ni advertised himself as having supernatural powers even to the extent of being able to raise the dead and communicating with spirits, and finally he predicted that the whites would be miraculously destroyed. He also taught the wheel dance that is now the leading medicine dance form of the White Mountain Apache. The performers were arranged like the spokes of a wheel, all facing inward, Nakai'doklin'ni occupying the center or hub portion around which the whirling backward-and-forward, fanatical participants danced, as he sprinkled them with cattail-flag pollen and prayed over them to his gods.

Some time in the early summer of 1881 two Cibicu chiefs killed each other while at a *tulapai* drunk and Nakai'doklin'ni agreed to bring them back to life for a certain number of blankets and horses. The amount required was paid. The wheel dance was at once instituted in its most hypnotic form as the means of restoring them to life. From June to August the dance continued day and night. Nakai'doklin'ni then announced that because of the presence of white people in the region his magic would not restore them to life and that it would be necessary to exterminate them before a "cure" could be affected. He appears to have ordered that such measures be carried out before the corn ripened. At least some such word came to Colonel E. A. Carr, then commander at Fort Apache, and he deemed the situation so serious that he and the Indian agent believed that the prophet, as Nakai'doklin'ni was called, should be arrested or killed at once, or both. An attempt was made to induce him to come to the Post so he could be arrested, but the wily Indian failed to come. Then eighty-five white soldiers and twenty-three Apache scouts were dispatched to Cibicu to arrest him. On arriving at Cibicu August thirtieth Nakai'doklin'ni quietly submitted to arrest, but, as camp was being made, the Indians and scouts who came with the war party opened fire on the soldiers. A terrible fight followed. The prophet was killed, and though the Indians were routed, the soldiers were compelled to retreat hurriedly, leaving most of their horses and baggage in

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<sup>1</sup>Bourke, John G., "The Medicinemen of the Apache" (*Ninth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, Washington, 1892), 505.



the hands of the Apache. Many soldiers were killed and wounded in the skirmish; the losses suffered by the Indians seem never to have been definitely known. A series of Apache outbreaks followed this encounter.<sup>1</sup>

*The Devil's Dance.* This dance takes its name from the idea that the evil one is the cause of sickness and that by dancing and singing he will be driven away. The dance is weird, grotesque, picturesque, and spectacular. It is somewhat like the wheel dance. The singers gather in the early evening and begin to sing first in a low tone, but as night approaches the noise and din of the chanting increases in volume and intensity. While they are singing, the devil dancers (*cheden*) prepare themselves for the dance.

At one of these dances attended by the writer seven torches were seen approaching the central fire from the outer darkness at about ten thirty. The singers, seated around the pottery drum, at once began to sing with more spirit. The ghosts (devils) approached and retrograded backwards into the darkness, time after time. Finally, a nude dancer looking like pictures of the devil and wearing horns, ran at great speed through the throng of singers and sightseers, whirling a bull roarer. He ran away from the crowd and then the singers coaxed him back with their loud singing. Then the seven devil dancers all came. The other six had enormous headdresses made of cloth masks and yucca lath crests; though different, each represented the spreading tail of some bird. The naked bodies of each of the six actors were adorned with garlands of evergreen. Their white breechcloths and gee-strings, red-tinged moccasins with circled turned-up toes, their reddish brown bodies dancing around the central fire presented a never-to-be-forgotten sight.

The leader carried a triple medicine cross decorated with feathers. As they danced they pretended to offer this cross to the singers who would reach for it, only to have it withdrawn. Then the singers sang louder, but coaxingly, that the cross might be given to them. This was done several times. Finally the cross was given to the singers who sang faster and louder than previously that evening. The "devils" then went around among the seated people's "quarters" and compelled the men to join the singing group. The choosing partner dance of the wheel type was then instituted and continued as a part of the ceremony until its close.

The devil actors then performed in succession over the patient while the bull-roarer was twirled continuously. In the performance over the patient, a pair of yucca lath wands was placed on the afflicted parts as

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<sup>1</sup>See Nakai'doklin'ni, in *Fourteenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, part 2, 1892-93, pp. 704-605.

the patient lay on a blanket east of the central fire. The devil ("sick") was collected on these wands and then as the crossed wands were raised on a level with the face of the actor and were separated with a quick, sweeping stroke in opposite directions, the devils were sent to the four winds by a hissing breath from the performer. The sacred pollen was then sprinkled by the chief medicineman after each participant had performed. When all seven had finished they galloped off to the mesquite brush, ending the first episode of the dance. Twelve more acts were performed during the night, all very similar to the one above described, though varying from it. In one set the devil performers made several little boys dance with them, in another set the old women, in another set the old men, in another set the young girls, and in the last set, they made everybody present dance. Just before dawn, as the last set was danced, everyone made all the noise possible, most of them making a noise like a screech owl. At this time they also danced the hardest and sang the loudest in a last great effort to drive the evil spirit "sick" away.

Another such dance was observed at Fort Apache in which twenty-eight young women danced in the form of a whirling, five pointed star. Seven of them carried medicine sticks about eight feet in length made in the style of the medicine cross. No masks were worn. Besides these, there were five *cheden* (devil) dancers. These were nude, except for a buckskin dancing skirt. Their bodies were painted and a *cheden* was painted on the breast of each. In addition, there was a devil-clown who was nude with the exception of a breechcloth and headwear. The antics of the *chedens* and clown were coarse and grotesque. This dance was held over a sick woman.

Later a similar dance was observed, conducted for the purpose of disposing of a quantity of *tulapai*. The maidens selected their partners and a dance of the wheel type was held until some time after midnight. Then four masked *cheden* dancers appeared, entering the circle of light from the four semi-cardinal points and taking a clumsy "hop-around." The *tulapai* was then distributed and the dance broke up very boisterously. Also, at a dance that was held over a sick child, July thirtieth, 1901, the women formed in a line abreast, facing the patient, the woman at each end of the line carrying a medicine stick. Five steps each way were danced. It lasted throughout the night, the sacred pollen being sprinkled at regular intervals.

*Thank Offering Dance.* This dance was held one mile north of the Agency August 10, 1901, to give thanks to the deities for rain. It was opened with a song call: "Yak-say-you-ou-o." "The writer arrived on



the scene at dusk, when they were sprinkling the singers with sacred pollen; the sprinkling and praying group were medicinemen. The dance consisted of several acts as follows:—

1. Several groups of women danced four abreast back and forth, around the central fire to the time of the beats on the pottery drum, the "set" lasting something like an hour.

2. The women of the dancing group danced in a semicircle east of the central fire; the men sat in a group around the pottery drum, west of the fire. In the dancing the women gave a springing, body-movement to the time of the music but did not dance.

3. In this set the women danced a crow-hop movement in a circle around the central fire.

4. Set four was a choosing-partner dance, and consisted of a backward and forward, wheel dance movement.

5. In this set thirteen women stood apart from the others, the rest continuing the choosing partner dance as described above. The thirteen women were given the sacred pollen. They then danced in column in a "hopping around," crow-hop step between the fire and the musicians, continuing the crow-hop motion in a backward and forward movement for about ten minutes. Then they all danced in a circle, all facing the front (outward) instead of the fire until they surrounded the fire once. Then, still in column formation, they danced up and back in front of the singers. As they danced thus, the foremost sallied forth in her crow-hopping and deposited or sprinkled the sacred dust on the drummers and then disappeared from the scene, to be followed by the one behind her in the same manner. (This column was headed by Loco Jim.)

6. In this set a column of old women, headed by Loco Jim, entered the dancing plot and after giving a crow-hop, circular dance, as described above, sprinkled the sacred pollen over the singers. Their column was followed by anyone who desired to perform the sacred act of sprinkling the pollen of the gods on the singers. There were thirteen scenes in all, the rest being practically the repetition of the fourth to the sixth mentioned above.

The chief performer in this dance was a woman, who with Loco Jim, headed the dancing sets. She made herself conspicuous by carrying a sacred medicine stick about two and one half feet in length, four inches wide, made of thin board and variously painted. The dance was given for the benefit of Loco Jim's daughter.

Another thanks offering dance was observed on Upper Cibicu, in the fall of 1901. This was given as a thank-offering to the gods for their

sparing one of the young men of the district near whom lightning had struck. In preparation all the people had baked corn pulp (crushed green corn) for supper and also for a night meal. The green corn was crushed on the metates and a pit dug and a fire kindled in it. The coals were covered with green corn blades and the corn pulp spread thereon. This was covered with corn blades on which a thin layer of dirt was spread. A pile of wood was then kindled on top of the spread dirt, which wood was replenished for hours. The coals were then removed and the baked corn bread taken out and placed in a closely woven basket over which a walnut "milk" solution was poured; the walnut milk being made as previously described. The bread was then ready for eating.

The dance was of the choosing-partner, wheel type. It was begun about nine p.m. and continued till morning.

*Protection from Ghosts.* The patient had dreamed of seeing "dead people" (ghosts) and the dance was held to keep the ghosts from capturing his soul. It was of the wheel type. The drum was placed on a canvass west of the central fire. Around it the musicians and male performers in the dance seated themselves. One of these who wore a peculiarly shaped hat of the medicine style was the chief medicineman of the evening. When all was ready he took the pollen and holding it above his head between thumb and finger of his left hand, prayed to his gods for several minutes. Some of the words of the prayer were: "We trade this sacred dust to you to take the evil (death) from our brother." This was repeated six times; coffee was mentioned also. After completing the prayer, he sprinkled the pollen on the drums. He then made a crescent moon under his left eye with it, then a cross on his left cheek, then a cross on his left shoulder. He then opened the bosom of his shirt and made a moon design on his chest. He then went to the young man who had seen the ghosts, and, opening his shirt, made a cross on his chest with the pollen, beginning with the vertical bar. The cross completed, he reversed the action, retracing the cross, but finishing with the vertical bar. He then made a cross first on the patient's left shoulder, then on the right, a sun design on his forehead, a cross on his left cheek and a crescent moon design on the back between the shoulders. He then seated himself and placed the medicine hat on his own head.

The chief medicineman's dust-sprinkling ceremony was followed by that of the chief of the evening, the director of the ceremony, and four other men in succession, each praying and sprinkling the pollen upon the drums and the medicinemen. The chief of ceremonies then made a circular mark with the pollen just under the eye of the chief medicine-

man. He then went around and harangued the people about the dance and the beef they were to have as a feast at its close, two cows having been killed. Five women then sprinkled the sacred dust. Then the woman who gave the dance, the mother of the young man who had seen the ghosts, went around and ordered the people to dance, telling them they must not sleep that night, but must dance till the sun rises when they would feast on beef.

The dance was then begun. Two old women opened it. They first danced the crow-hop step. Then they chose partners and danced to the four gods that hold up the four corners of the earth, first to the southeast corner of the world, to the southwest, to the northwest, and lastly the northeast corner. The choosing-partner wheel dance was then ushered in for a time. The dust of the gods was sprinkled several times between nine thirty and morning. At three thirty a.m. twenty men formed in a curved line between the fire and the musicians and danced backward and forward, while the sacred pollen was sprinkled on them by five women. At the beginning of the next "set" they changed to the southeast of the fire and performed as before, then to the northwest of the fire and lastly to the northeast of it, continuing thus until they had encircled the central fire and the musicians two consecutive times. Then they were sprinkled with the sacred powder by about forty women who went through a dance similar to the one the men had just finished. The five old women also still continued to sprinkle the pollen as before, dancing round and round the central fire as they carried out the sprinkling act. Also at several intervals during the night, the chief medicineman harangued his hearers on the virtue of the gods and that all peoples should do all they could to be good. A feast at sunrise closed the ceremonies.

*Dance for a Sick Child.* In the house were four variously colored, large medicine hoops and a medicine cross suspended from the walls. Also around the inside of the house were stretched elaborately feathered, buckskin medicine cords. Five feathers were suspended from each section of the cords which were placed on opposite sides of the house.

To the west of the dwelling an open, canvass-surrounded enclosure, some thirty feet in diameter, was made encircling a level plot of ground. In the center of this was a sun-disk drawing covering an area of about sixteen feet in diameter. This disk was covered with sand paintings of the rainbow, beasts, and *chedens*. The designs on the disk were colored as follows: The white figures were made with pounded-up lime rock, the red with pounded-up red sandstone, the black with crushed charcoal,



the green with powdered leaves of a kind of gourd. The rings, with the exception of the outer one which was only a mark, were colored black. In the center of the disk thus drawn the patient was seated, a consumptive little girl of about nine years of age. Her mother was sitting behind her and she leaned on her for support. In front of the child and her mother, facing both, sat medicineman C4 when the writer appeared. In his right hand he held a piece of clay against the child's body just at the pit of the stomach. As he held the clay, he sang and chanted and waved his left hand toward the sun. This singing and performing continued for about two hours. Then the medicineman departed from the scene and the grandmother of the child, who was herself a medicine woman, entered the circle. Wetting her hand, she placed it palm down first upon one of the disk figures, then on another, till she had gathered dust from each of the different figures. Then she went to the child and rubbed the gathered dust, paint, etc., on its body. She repeated this until she had covered the entire body with dirt. She then gathered some of the painted dirt from several of each of the different designs and put it in a bowl for future use. At this juncture a *cheden* dancer came from a near-by thicket. Entering the enclosure, he performed over the patient much as the grandmother had done. The grandmother then went around and destroyed all the figures, raking the dust with her hands toward the center of the circle where her daughter and granddaughter were still seated. This closed the performance. It might be added that the child died that night.

*Dance for a Sick Woman.* On the evening of March 28, 1901, the Cibicu Indians gathered for a medicine dance in a flat among the trees about four miles to the northwest of the Government farmer's residence. The patient was a woman of twenty. She had chills, fever, and, as the fever reached its height, she had fits.

The people gathered around a great fire in the center of the flat where the patient had been carried and placed on a blanket. Here they waited and chanted, sang and beat the drum made of an old pot with rawhide stretched over its open face. Thus they waited till after midnight, while the sick one had spasm after spasm.

At last those "angelic" creatures who understand the mysteries of the gods came. There were five of them, four devil-dancers and a clown. The dancers were nude, with the exception of a dancing skirt, a blanket girdled at the hips, moccasins, and a muslin cap which covered the head and face and served as a mask. This cap was crested at the front by the spread feathers of a turkey's tail. Each dancer had a thunderbolt, with

dart up, painted on each arm from wrist to shoulder, a crescent moon design on his chest, a wreath of spruce twigs girdled his waist, and each held a medicine stick in each hand. This was a thin stick, about two inches wide and three feet long. It was rounded at each end, had a thunderbolt design drawn on each side and also had four feathers suspended from it, two on each side. The clown was nude, with the exception of moccasins, breechcloth and cap. The cap was similar to the one described above, except that the crested feathers were divided into two parts, one on each side of the head so that they looked like two great ears. In his left hand he held a forked stick, something like the trident of Neptune. With this he drove the people around at will, as will be described later. In his right hand he held a bull-roarer, a short medicine wand attached to a string which was tied around his wrist at the free end. By means of this string he whirled the wand through the air with vigorous force, thus making a peculiar, buzzing noise.

On arriving, these dancers and the clown approached the congregated people from the southwest, encircled them in a great circle, circling closer and closer, and constantly putting their heads near the ground as if smelling for something and then clucking, sputtering, gobbling and strutting like a turkey and waving their hands as if imitating a flying bird. At last they entered the patient's presence and acting as though surprised, they danced backwards for several yards to the music that was being played. Then they approached again and then retreated backward as before. This maneuver they repeated seven times. Then they approached and strutted around the little spot that the girl occupied, the clown going through every known grimace. They then stopped and the oldest woman present, the "god-mother" of the medicinemen of the Cibicu section, sprinkled sacred pollen upon them as she blew her breath on each one. This completed the first part and the Satanic people cantered off into the darkness to go through their religious orgies to drive away the evil spirits ("sick").

In the second part of the ceremony, the masked dancers returned and formed in a column facing west, the patient being turned on her blanket so that she faced them. They then pranced up to her several times, sputtering, clucking, waving their arms in imitation of a flying turkey and each time they pranced backward to the place where they had formed the column the first time. Then the dancer heading the column made a rush for the sick one sidewise and in every other direction, like a quail trying to protect her brood. He reached her presence, strutted around her, laid the crossed wands on her feet, blew his breath on them,



danced backward for twelve or fifteen feet with wands still crossed, parted the wands with a sweeping, vigorous stroke of each hand in opposite directions, thus sending the devils to the four winds. He returned again, placing the wands on her chest. Then he pranced backward and scattered the evil ones as before. Then he placed the crossed wands on her head and lastly upon her back, each time going through the performance as above described. His work for this scene now being finished, he cantered off into obscurity, only to return to form the next column or to reappear in the next scene. The other masked dancers went through practically the same performance in succession as the first one described. Then the clown came and besides rolling and tumbling around in the dirt, his performance was practically the same as that of the masked dancers, except that he did not cluck or strut. His performance completed, he cantered off into the darkness, to appear in the third part of the ceremony in which the sick one faced the north and the medicine column was formed facing her. The performance was the same as that previously described. This performance was repeated four times, but the third time the patient faced the west and the column, of course, faced the east; the fourth time she faced the south and the medicine column the north. This fourth repetition closed the second part of the dance and the medicine actors pranced into the darkness.

There were eleven other scenes, all of which were practically the same as the second part (described in detail), except that when the assembled people went to sleep, the Satanic majesty with his trident shook them up, jerked them around, and made them dance, there being twenty-seven sleepy ones dancing at one time.

Just as the sun rose the medicinemen and clown were again sprinkled with the pollen of the gods. The dance then began in earnest. Everyone joined in and the peculiar drum beat, the loud chanting, and deafening shouts filled the surrounding country with ear-grating sounds. The excitement reached a high pitch of tension. The patient forgot her ailments, picked up her blanket and walked to her house as if she had never been sick. This closed the dance.

*A Night Dance.* At about nine o'clock in the evening of April 28, 1901, five fires were built at the place where the dance was to be held, a fire representing each of the cardinal points and the zenith. Then the people assembled for the dance. An aged woman then arose and after praying and holding the sacred pollen toward the zenith in her left hand a moment, she sprinkled all present, including the singers and drummers. The pottery drum then began to sound, the beats always

being of equal value. The chanters then began to sing "*Yah ay yah*," etc. Four dancing sections were formed representing the semi-cardinal directions, with the chanters in the center. Only women composed the dancing sets. Again the sacred pollen was sprinkled, after which the dancing was begun. Each sector formed in line abreast facing the chanters. The dancing was simply a time-step movement first forward and then backward, but there was some variation. The northwest division took five steps forward and four backward, the northeast six forward and six backward, the southeast seven forward and seven backward, and the southwest section seven forward and eight in the reverse direction.

The clown and also the coacher, each a man, danced singly and usually faced some section in front of which he danced. The clown performance was unique. The clown wore a gum coat. The coacher, who also acted as the master of the occasion, was dressed like the other old Indians, except that he wore a ghost cap.

The "queen" of the evening, a young woman who danced in the northeast section, had a wand or dancing stick with which she danced. It was four feet long and had three eagle feathers tied to its head.

Nearly all the men joined the chanters, and when any woman wanted a partner in the dance, she chose her male companion by going to this group and tapping her choice with her hand. He, however, sometimes refused to dance with the girl who had sought him. If he accepted, he got up from his sitting position among the chanters and followed her to her division which now made itself wider to give him space to dance beside his partner. If it was his first dance on this occasion, he danced facing his partner, i.e., with his back to the chanters. After that, if he danced he faced the chanters as did his partner.

At daybreak the women dancers all joined the northeast division and danced three sets without partners. At the beginning of the first of these three sets, the coacher held the sacred pollen skyward toward the east as he faced the central group, and having said a short prayer, he took this same pollen and gave it to the youngest child present to eat, putting it in its mouth with his own fingers. As the second set was closing, he again held the sacred pollen between thumb and finger to the sky and prayed. He then put it into the mouth of the mother of the child who had previously eaten it. At the close of the third set he again held the pollen of the gods on high and prayed. This done, he made a yellow cross on his chest with the sacred pollen. This completed the dance.

Another dance was held on the night of May 2, 1901. The first act of this dance after the populace had assembled on the leveled area around the central fire, was the setting of five mescal fiber fires, representing the four semi-cardinal points and the zenith. The setting of these fires was followed by a series of long prayers and the sprinkling of the sacred pollen to the deities. Following this, the beating of the pottery drum was begun, as was the chanting of the song, "Ya a a a ya." Soon the dancing commenced. Five women abreast danced at a time, merely keeping step to the music, five steps forward and five in the opposite direction. Also, each woman when entering the dance set took some ashes and sprinkled them to the four winds. The "god-mothers" also sprinkled the singers, dancers, and the assembled people with the sacred pollen twenty-six times during the night, as they prayed and pointed to the five sacred regions (the home of the four winds and the zenith) each time before sprinkling the pollen.

*Dance for Rain.* A dance to bring rain was held at Elsesay's camp June 24, 1901. Besides the wheel dance, five *cheden* dancers, nude with the exception of breechcloth and ghost hats with crescent of feathers falling over the face, acted out clown ceremonies. At sunrise the ceremonies closed.

*Medicine Disk Ceremony.* This was a *gunelpieya* medicine disk performance. The disk was prepared in the daytime and used before the close of day, as such disks must be made, used, and destroyed in one day. It was a sand drawing on the ground some sixteen feet in diameter and was composed of rings surrounding a three-foot circular center. The center contained two major drawings, the darker was a representation of the sun (called *choo-gon-no-i*). It occupied the south position. This and the second major drawing, a figure of the moon, occupied positions in a north and south line. Around these was drawn a rainbow making a complete circle in the form of an ellipse, except at the east where an open space was left. The colors of the rainbow, beginning with the inner side, were white, black, green, and red. Standing on the rainbow was a circle of *chedens*, fourteen in number. The four southeast ones were black; a single *cheden* colored with rainbow ribbons was followed on the southwest and west by four red colored devil (*cheden*) dancers. The *chedens* in the north segment were colored green, those on the east white, except the one next to and just north of the open space which was shown in back view and was all black. In the west and in the north segment was a *cheden* of the rainbow colored type. Around the *chedens* was another rainbow. Standing on it was a duplication of the



*chedens* above, except that they were double the number. One *cheden* in each circle had a peculiar drawing over his head. This drawing in each circle occupied the northeast position. Around this outer circle of *chedens* was drawn another rainbow. This completed the disk which contained fifty objects in all. Each *cheden* was two feet in height and the rainbow circles were about a foot in width. The last figure north of the open space in the last *cheden* circle was a drawing of a goat.

When all was ready the real impersonator of *cheden* came. He was painted, and wore only a gee-string, breechcloth, and ghost hat that had been prepared for the ceremonies. As he was seen approaching, the mother of the woman for whom the ceremonies were to be performed came into the canvass enclosure surrounding the disk and walked into the center with the sacred pollen with which she sprinkled the sun drawing, then the rainbow and the appendages which connected the sun and the rainbow. Then she likewise sprinkled the moon and each circle of objects from the inner circle to the outer rainbow, walking around each circle from the inner one to the outer and prayed to the gods. She then took a cup partly filled with water, and, beginning with the outer circle (the rainbow), walked around each from the outside to the inner circle, stooping now and then to gather dust from the figures of the sacred objects, which dust she put in the cup. She took a pinch of dirt from each rainbow and from over the heart of each *cheden*, thence from each of the central figures. Then as she prayed, she set the cup of wet dust down in the center of the sun disk and departed.

The patient then entered the disk, walking around on each circle from the outside to the inner circle. She then seated herself on the rainbow ribbon that connected the sun and moon. Then the *cheden* with the devil hat mentioned above came from a nearby thicket dancing and strutting. He had a butcher knife in one hand and a lightning-painted wand in the other. He danced around the enclosure for a considerable time, then entered and walked around the circles as the sick woman had, from the east around by the north, till he reached the circle of the sun and moon. Then he approached the woman from the west, i.e., at her back as she was facing the east. Then laying down his knife and wand, he dipped his hand into the muddied water in the cup and rubbed the woman's back with his muddy hand. Then lifting his hands skyward he sent the "sick" away by blowing a hissing breath through them as he swept them to his side. In like manner he placed his hands on the woman's head, on her chest, and on her arms. Then waving his hands to heaven and sending the "sick" away he left the scene and galloped off to the hills.



When the *cheden* was leaving, the mother sprinkled him with the sacred dust. When he had gone the chief medicineman took the muddy cup and rubbed the woman in the same manner as the *cheden* had done, except that he rubbed her almost all over with the mud as he prayed continually. When he had finished, the sick one arose and retraced her steps around the circle and departed. Then each one who cared took some of the dust of the gods, i.e., gathered it as had the mother. Then the disk was obliterated.

The coloring materials used in this sand drawing were as follows: The white was ground-up limestone; black, charcoal; red, ground-up sand rock; green, ground-up cedar leaves; the color with which the last *cheden* and the goat were painted was made by combining the black and white paints. The goat and the black *cheden* were obliterated as soon as the patient entered the medicine circle. The disk ceremonies of the afternoon were followed by the Ghost Dance ceremonies the next night.

*Ceremonies for the Sick.* Dwachingo is sick. She has a cough. It is that dreaded disease consumption. We hear the drum beating. It is night; the medicine people are at the dwelling of the sick woman. They are going to sing over her. We join the group of singers. The medicineman enters. He goes to the side of the house by the central fire and doubles his feet under him in a sitting position near the patient. Then he bends his body forward; clasps his hands over his face and forehead in the form of a sort of hood and begins to sing: "Go away 'sick.' Go away 'sick.' Go away 'sick.' Go away 'sick,'" as the musicians beat drums. Occasionally, he stops singing, spits in the fire, and sprinkles the sick one with cattail-flag pollen. Then he resumes his singing.

Towards morning he varies the performance a little. He produces a crudely made, striped, wooden snake. This he places on the afflicted parts in four different directions corresponding to our semi-cardinal directions, as he sings to the four gods who hold up the four corners of the earth. When through performing with the snake he burns it, as he sends the hissing spirits away by a harshly blown breath. Then he resumes his singing for a considerable time. Then he produces a wooden carving, an effigy of his leading medicine god which he places on the woman as he did the snake. When through performing with it he hides it in a niche in the rocks of a neighboring cliff. At sunrise everyone goes home; the patient is worse, because she has been deprived of her much-needed sleep.

Night after night we visit the medicine singings which are usually similar to the above, though occasionally they are varied. Five hoops,

colored like the rainbow which they are supposed to represent, are substituted for the wooden image of the medicine god. Also medicine sticks and medicine canes of various sorts are now and then used. A medicine game is also played with four flat splints. The sticks are bounced on a flat rock in the center of a six-foot circle of forty cobblestones (or pebbles). The sticks falling with a certain side up are favorable to the recovery of the patient. The onlookers, the visitors, also dance through the small hours of the morning. But not withstanding all their performances the patient grows steadily worse day by day and the last, the dramatic ceremonies, must sooner or later be performed.

It is sunrise. The blazing disk has begun its advance westward over the eastern crags. A horseman rides swiftly up the valley. Soon many people are seen crushing rock on the neighboring ledges, others are pulverizing charcoal and leaves. We go up the creek. It is now ten o'clock. A group of medicinemen have gathered on a leveled spot of earth. They are busily at work. They are making a medicine, sand painted disk on the ground. It is the likeness of the "sun father," according to their belief. The drawing is some sixteen feet in diameter. It is the front view of a massive head, with crown for a hat and the suspended "medicine squares" for a necktie. There is no nose, nor neck, nor body shown. The eyes and eyebrows are depicted as is the mouth. The latter is peculiar. The lips are in the form of a square set naturally with the face. They are parted, showing the odd-shaped mouth. This is shaped like a diamond, or a square so drawn that each of its respective corners bisects a side of the square that forms the lips. From the mouth at the left is supported a long stemmed pipe, on which bolt lightning is drawn. And from each corner of the lips, as drawn, a funnel-shaped wisp of the sun's rays extend out into measureless space. The different parts of the drawing are variously colored in red, white, black, gray, and green. The red coloring matter is made from ground red sandstone; the white from ground limestone; the green from crushed leaves; the black from pulverized charcoal; and the gray from a mixture of charcoal and limestone.

The disk being completed and a canvass having been stretched around it, we wait for the performers. They soon come, for the medicine disk must be made, used, and destroyed within the day. It is the last performance but one in the Apache medicine ceremonies. It is a last resort. The patient is presented to the drawing of the god of day (which may be this form or any other form the medicineman's fancy dictates), and he (the sun) may either cure him or take him to his abode in the immensity beyond.

The performers come. An old medicine woman carrying a dirty bowl partly filled with water comes from a nearby house, enters the medicine disk by way of the pipestem, and, in a stooping position, passes around within it from left to right, near its outer rim. As she moves around near the drawing of the outer circle of light, she takes a pinch of the coloring matter from each respective part of the drawing and puts it into the cup. Completing the dust gathering, she sets the bowl down in the upper corner of the sun's mouth and then passes out of the disk drawing by the route she came. At once the medicinemen carry the patient from a nearby house. They also enter the disk by the pipestem. They carry her around the circle of the sun's rays from right to left, then to the center of the sun's mouth, and place her upon it with face turned toward the afternoon sun.

At this juncture a medicine ghost dancer sallies forth into the open space from a near-by thicket. He is nude, with the exception of a dancing skirt. His body is painted white. Zigzags in red run up his arms and down his lower extremities to represent the blazing thunderbolt of the raging storm. He also wears a loose, sack-like cloth mask on top of which there extends skyward a row of lath facing the front and so placed as to represent crudely the spread tail of a turkey. In addition, he carries a sword-like wand stick in one hand, an old Indian knife in the other. Shrieking, whooping, and occasionally gobbling like a turkey, he crow-hops in a large circle around the drawing of the god of day and the patient waiting to be cured, posing now and then in baboon-style. Completing the circle, he makes a rush sidewise to the presence of the sick one like a mad swine going to battle. Reaching her, he squats in front of her, sticks the knife in the ground by her side, places the wand on her afflicted parts in each of the semi-cardinal directions, gathers the "sick" on the wand in this way, takes the wand up before his own face, blows a hissing breath on it to drive the "sick" away, then gives a hideous, ear-grating howl, seizes his knife, and gallops forth into obscurity.

The ghost dancer having gone, the chief medicineman enters the circle, and, taking a piece of green gourd rind in his hand, he rubs the sick one all over with it. Then he daubs her all over with the muddied water from the bowl, the moistened dust of the drawing of the "Father of Day." This being completed, he places the gourd rind against the lower end of the sick one's breast bone and sings a song to the gods to help her, musicians with drums aiding him in the singing. The singing is continued for a considerable time. Then the patient is carried from the place and the medicine drawing is at once obliterated.



The closing rites are always performed the night following the medicine disk ceremonies. It is the last performance; the last resort. It is the medicine dance.

It is ten o'clock in the evening. A huge fire has been kindled in the center of a level area among the hills. Here are assembled all the people of the valley squatting on deerskins around the fire in a great circle. At one end and within the circle are the doctors and musicians; but the dancers have not come. We look around for the patient; but she too is not present. We search for her. In an improvised shelter close at hand we find her. She is lying face down on a mat and medicine women are rubbing her bare back with scorching piñon twigs. Time and again she faints, only to have the twigs snatched from the blaze more quickly and applied to her back. But the dancers are coming.

Hurriedly the patient is carried within the circle and placed on the opposite side of the fire from that occupied by the musicians. The drums begin to beat. The chief medicine doctor leans his body forward and covers his face with his hands, holding them in a sort of hooded position. The doctor and the musicians commence the monotonous chant. The sick one looks expectant. The ghost dancers of the gods (and devils) are coming. They enter the circle of light from the northeast. There are five of them. Four of them are attired as was the dancer in the afternoon; but now each carries a wand in each hand. The fifth is the clown. He is attired only in a breechcloth and is masked with a horned mask. He carries a wand in his left hand, a three pronged stick in his right. Around the central fire, the musicians, and the patient, they dance in single file for a considerable time, the four dancers posing now and then and gobbling like turkeys, which they are supposed to represent; the clown at the same time cuts capers and tumbles around over the ground to amuse the populace.

At last they approach the sick one in single file. Then acting like a bird when it has seen something that it is rather afraid of, they gobble and dance backwards from her presence in single file. Again and again they approach her, each time getting closer to her. Finally, the foremost dancer of the line leaves his fellows, trembling, prancing, and dances to the feet of the patient. She sits up. He leans over her, places his crossed wands on her head, on her back, on her lower extremities, and on her chest. Then he raises the still-crossed wands toward the northeastern heavens, and, as he parts them with a sweeping motion and emits a hissing breath from his mouth, he scatters the "sick" towards the four winds. Then with a shrieking howl, he canters off into the black darkness.



The rest of the dancers follow in succession and perform in a similar manner, as does the clown, except that he acts the clown as well as dancer. His principal feat is to kill the "sick" by spearing it with his trident after he has collected it on his wand. His performance completes the first part of the ceremony; three more scenes follow, all similar to the one just described, except that in the second the patient faces the southeast and the performers approach her from that direction, in the third part, the patient faces the southwest and the dancers the northeast, and in the fourth, she faces the northwest, and the dancers the southeast. They depart and another set of performers take their places.

The performance continues throughout the night. As soon as one set of actors complete their performance and gallop into obscurity, another set is formed. The maneuvers described above are repeated thirteen times. Then comes the closing scene.

The cold silver-shielded moon has passed beyond the earth's western rim. The morning star has had his "large eye" above the horizon for an hour or more. The sun has begun to show his advance fingers of gorgeous light over the eastern mountain peaks. The clown wakes all the sleepers with his trident and compels them to stand up. The chief medicine people sprinkle all with the sacred pollen. Everyone takes one more good drink of *tulapai*. The medicine dancers approach the patient again. As they perform, every one joins in a straight backward and forward wheel dance within the circumscribed area. The excitement becomes intense. They all shriek and shout and the hills re-echo it again and again; the drummers pound the drums until it seems as if the very poles of the earth have thundered. They raise the patient to a standing position. They support her. She dances. She takes a medicine wand in each hand. She waves them toward the respective homes of the gods of heaven and earth. She swoons, dies, and today her grave marks the spot.

*The Sickness and Death of Whistling Wind.* The type of procedure in cases of illness may be outlined in the case of Whistling Wind, a man of twenty-one in the last stages of tuberculosis. A medicineman was called, given two blankets, two saddles, three bags of grain, four ponies, and a cow to doctor him. Previously many singing ceremonies had been held for him and later several dances, ceremonial games were played, even the ceremony with the sun medicine disk was tried in vain.

The medicine ghost dance is the last resort known to the Apache medicine fraternity. This ceremony lasts all night, five special performers dancing over the patient, and as he grows worse, just at sunrise, a circular dance in which everyone joins is instituted. In the case ob-

served, the patient made a heroic effort to rise and join in the dance, but collapsed and the dance broke up in turmoil.

The next day he died. Then, after he was elaborately attired, he was carried to the mountain side and buried with his personal belongings in a niche in the rocks. His stock was then killed and his house burned. This done, the women wailed and mourned for him continuously for thirty days.

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GN 2 .A27 v. 31 pt. 5  
Lowie, Robert Harry, 1883  
Minor ceremonies of the Crow I 010101 000



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GN2 .A27 v. 31 pt. 5  
Reagan, Albert B  
Notes on the Indians of the  
Fort Apache region

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